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Buchanan backs pro-Confederate

[illegible]

How a Confederate-American rocked the Republican establishment



The Southern Renaissance Collection

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Is Davis A Traitor?, non-fiction, 1866
by Albert Taylor Bledsoe, 272 pages
Introduction by Dr. Clyde N. Wilson
University of South Carolina

\$34

[This book's] "importance is evident from the story Bledsoe often related of his encountering General Lee shortly after the War between the States. Lee remarked to him: 'Take care of yourself, Doctor; you have a great task; we look to you for our vindication.'"

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"Is Davis a Traitor; or Was Secession a Constitutional Right Previous to the War of 1861?, the ablest of all defenses of the Confederacy, was first published in 1866 by Innes & Company of Baltimore. It has been printed twice: by Hermitage Press of Richmond in 1907, and by J.P. Bell of Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1915 under a different title, *The War Between the States; or Was Secession a Constitutional Right Previous to the War of 1861?*

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—Dr. Clyde N. Wilson,
University of South Carolina

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C O N T E N T S

Cover

- 18 **Hurricane Pat: How a Confederate-American Rocked the Republican Establishment.**
Tom Landess tells what happens when a Southern Partisan advisor runs for president.

Features

- 25 **Wade Hampton: Peerless Warrior**
Jim McCafferty shows us the many sides of the man Teddy Roosevelt called America's "greatest hunter."
- 30 **Christianity and Southern Civilization**
Mark Malvasi issues a call for a return to the religious devotion of our Confederate forebears.
- 34 **Partisan Conversation: Samuel Francis**
Francis speaks out as only he can on the burning issues—foreign policy, immigration, race and the conservative movement. Hold on to your hat!

Criticus

CRITICUS MOVING PICTURES

- 39 **Andersonville: The Horrors of a Georgia movie** Kevin Gutzman
*Reviewed: Turner Network Television's **Andersonville***
- 43 **Confederate Curio** Norman Stewart
*Reviewed: Orion's **Pharoah's Army***

CRITICUS BOOKS

- 42 **The Cause Endures** William Watkins
*Reviewed: Ron & Don Kennedy's **Why Not Freedom?***
- 44 **Ode to Father Abraham** Kevin Gutzman
*Reviewed: David Herbert Donald's **Lincoln***
- 46 **The Truth in Black and White** Charles Hamel
*Reviewed: Mary Leftkowitz's **Not Out of Africa***

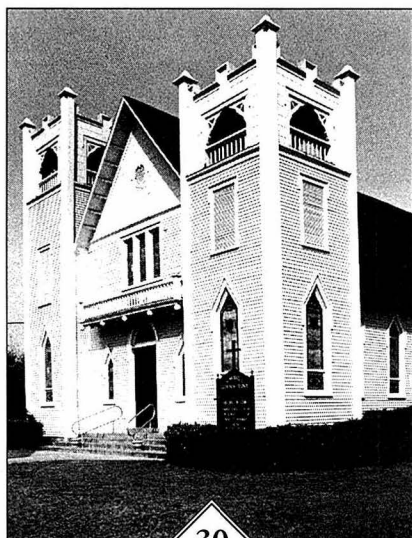
Columns and Departments

- 2 Partisan Letters
- 6 Partisan View Richard Quinn
- 7 Obiter Dicta
- 9 Scalawag Award
- 10 Partisan 'Toons
- 12 From Behind Enemy Lines Gordon Jackson
- 13 CSA Today
- 48 Booknotes
- 54 War Between the States Trivia Webb Garrison
- 54 Southern Sampler William Freehoff
- 55 The Smoke Never Clears Rod Gragg
- 56 The Last Word Samuel Francis
- 57 Classified

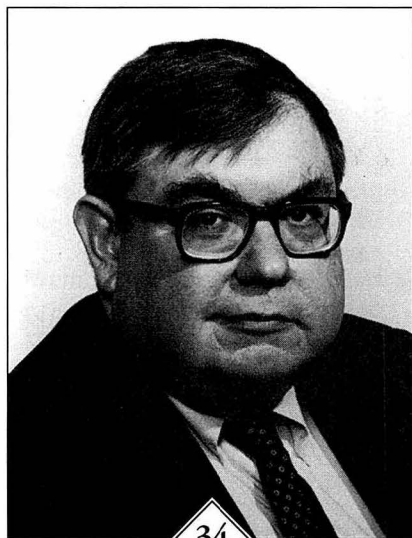
Cover design
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18



30



34

Volume XVI • First Quarter 1996
 Printed in CSA

"If there were a Southern magazine, intelligently conducted and aimed specifically, under the doctrine of provincialism, at renewing a certain sort of sectional consciousness and drawing separate groups of Southern thought together, something might be done to save the South..."

—Donald Davidson to Allen Tate
May, 1927

"No periodical can well succeed in the South, which does not include the *political* constituent...The mind of the South is active chiefly in the direction of politics...The only reading people in the South are those to whom politics is the bread of life."

—William Gilmore Simms

Southern Quarterly Review, April, 1853

Editor-in-Chief: RICHARD M. QUINN

Publisher: CHARLES S. HAMEL

Editor: ORAN P. SMITH

Associate Editors:

BRYANT BURROUGHS

CHARLES GOOLSBY

GORDON JACKSON

THOMAS H. LANDESS

Senior Advisors:

PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

BOYD CATHEY

Art Director: D. RYAN OWENS

Circulation Manager: CHRISTINA M. MCGREGOR

Advisors and Contributors:

DAVID A. BOVENIZER

DEVEREAUX D. CANNON, JR.

T. KENNETH CRIBB, JR.

ALLISON DALTON

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WILLIAM FREEHOFF

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THE SOUTHERN PARTISAN QUARTERLY REVIEW was founded in 1979 by Tom Fleming of McClellanville, South Carolina who published two issues. The magazine was later purchased by The Foundation for American Education and the publication was resumed under the shorter title in the Summer of 1981. In 1984, the magazine was purchased by THE SOUTHERN PARTISAN CORPORATION.

Rates: The annual subscription rate is \$18.00, with a single issue price of \$4.50. Subscribers in Canada and Mexico should add \$4.00 to the annual rate (\$1.00 to the single issue rate). All other foreign subscribers should add \$8.00 to the annual rate (\$2.00 to the single issue rate).

Correspondence: Please address all correspondence, including Letters to the Editor, to Southern Partisan, P.O. Box 11708, Columbia, South Carolina 29211. Manuscripts: Southern Partisan welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. All manuscripts should be typed, double spaced. Return guaranteed only if stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Advertising Inquiries: Contact Oran Smith or Katharine Chambers at P.O. Box 11708, Columbia, South Carolina 29211, (800) 264-2559.

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PARTISAN letters

★ WHOOPS!

Gentlemen:

I wasn't aware that "Fighting Joe Wheeler" changed sides and led the Army of Tennessee against Richmond until I read Bryant Burroughs' article "Richard Channing Price (*Southern Partisan*, Fourth Quarter, 1995). I always erroneously thought this to be Hooker.

Dent Myers

Kennesaw, Georgia

Editor's Note: A direct hit from "The Wild Man." (Mr. Myers owns The Wild Man general store in Kennesaw, Georgia.) Mr. Myers always gets his man. Needless to say, the "Fighting Joe" in blue was Hooker. The real "Fighting Joe" was Wheeler.

★ A LYTLE IRONY

Gentlemen:

I love your magazine. I like my computer. However, I feel an uncomfortable irony witnessing the introduction of your internet address in the issue dedicated to Andrew Lytle. <http://repent@once!>

Joe Foxall

Portland, Oregon

Editor's Note: Mr. Lytle would turn in his grave if he knew his obituary was first faxed, discussed on voice mail, and finally attached as a file over the Internet before printing. If you have any more smart comments, please beep the editor in his car and he will call you from there on his cell phone. Or just visit our website. Sometimes the devil must be challenged with his own weapons.

Gentlemen:

I appreciated the memorial to Andrew N. Lytle in the latest

Southern Partisan as I had known him in Sewanee (and Monteagle) since we moved here in 1964.

I had read *Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company* several times and upon learning that Lytle would be signing copies in the University bookstore I decided that a personal autographed copy would indeed be a great addition to my library.

Unfortunately for our family, my Kentucky great-grandfather was a Union cavalryman in the War of Northern Aggression and in Sewanee that is indeed a blot on one's escutcheon. I, of course, suffered mental and physical abuse for this.

Knowing Mr. Lytle's full loyalty to the South and wanting to tease him, I stood in the book-signing line wearing a Union kepi, the same type my great-grandfather would have worn.

Mr. Lytle was busily autographing books, and as I stepped up to the table, book in hand, he glanced up, recognizing me and the alien headgear and without missing a pen stroke, asked "Are you a prisoner?" Breaking up all within hearing and putting me on the spot where I belonged.

We'll miss him around here.

William K. Kershner

Sewanee, Tennessee

Gentlemen:

I wish to thank you for your loving and perceptive tribute to Andrew Lytle. Your phrase, his "enduring presence," defines what all of us will miss the most.

After all, we have his books and essays. But all of us who knew him well and had the privilege of his company have the enduring, and endearing memory.

Rev. William Ralston, Jr.

Saint John's Church

Savannah, Georgia

Gentlemen:

If, as Lytle thought, history cancels all victories (and, necessarily by symmetry, all defeats) in the end—then, in all seriousness, why continue to complain about the South's defeat? Why not just let it go, realizing that in AD 12,000 it will likely all be as though it had never been, assuming that the human race even still exists then? Also, in *Southern Partisan* I notice a tendency to attack industrialism. How are we to do without industry? It is incongruous to see the Internet used to attack industry. Why these attacks?

Tatiana Covington
University of Arizona
via CompuServe

Gentlemen:

On three separate occasions I have been angered by *CNN* and *Headline News* (they are the same) broadcasting and showing photos (video) of the rowdy militants so-called campout that the FBI and others are closely watching and showing our Confederate Battle-flag flying and using the words that these are "symbols of hatred."

I bitterly resent the comments made by *CNN* and *Headline News* concerning the battle-flag. I ask that you and others that you may influence, register a strong objection . . . that the world may know that the comments were untrue and that these renegades have "stolen" the use of our Battleflag for their own purposes and brought it into ill repute in many eyes.

Please do something about this misunderstanding, deliberate or otherwise and clarify it with *CNN* and *Headline News*.

Thomas E. Northen
Largo, Florida

★ LEE FORGOTTEN?

Gentlemen:

I would like to know what happened to the Alabama State Holi-

day for Robert E. Lee! I know that bunch of lily-livered cowards we called Representatives, down in Montgomery, Alabama, changed the holiday to Robert E. Lee/Martin Luther King day and said we could celebrate whichever one we wanted to. I would like to know what happened to the Robert E. Lee part of the holiday?

If you will look at every place this holiday is mentioned, you will notice that Robert E. Lee's name has been mysteriously left out. This could only be a misprint and should be corrected immediately.

This obvious misrepresentation of the Holiday has spread to all parts of society, and I am afraid that we have waited too long to correct this problem, but I sincerely hope that it is not.

If you will look at the law in Montgomery, Alabama, you will find that it is still listed as Robert E. Lee/Martin Luther King Day. Since this is the legal way that the holiday is written on the State law books I would like to see this misrepresentation corrected.

I do not feel one little bit ashamed of what Robert E. Lee did. In fact, I am extremely proud of him and what he was able to accomplish. I do not want to see such a great man forgotten by modern day man in the name of political correctness.

The people that we have elected to public office are so afraid of offending a portion of our society that they have forgotten about offending the majority.

Please inform our representatives that my family, friends and I will not forget what they are trying to do next election day.

Vann Trimm
Oakman, Alabama

★ ROTHBARD REVIEWED

Gentlemen:

While the late Murray Rothbard was a known political commentator and economic writer, I think in the case of "Our Two Just Wars,"

(*Southern Partisan*, Third Quarter, 1995) he proved himself a lousy religious historian. The post millennialists to which he referred in your 3rd quarter 1995 article were combinations of Unitarians, Darwinists and people who were to later form the liberal Northern Methodist church. Arguably, most Southern Presbyterians and Episcopalians of the antebellum era were orthodox postmils of a Biblical, Calvinist stripe, with a minority perhaps being amillennial.

The New England Congregationalists always had their own brand of postmillennialism, which was a little odd, but not what Mr. Rothbard was characterizing as the postmillennialism that led to the War of Northern aggression.

Orthodox postmillennialism centers on disciplining the nation, preaching the gospel and, in so doing, effecting change — not some New Age or Darwinian perfection concept. I think it's important to remember that in his own writings Mr. Rothbard demonstrated deistic beliefs at best, although I enjoyed many of his economic essays.

Mr. Rothbard's writing seems to indicate that he usually considered religion a matter of moral abstract, not spiritual truth. He did not seem to have a theological understanding of the terms he was using, and he approached a theological topic from the point of view of a secular historian. Thus, he mistakes a liberal theology for a conservative, Reformed theology. And because of his ignorance, Mr. Rothbard was possibly besmirching the reputations of men like Jackson and Dabney, who were quite possibly Southern postmillennialists.

Paul D. Perry
Red Oak, Texas

★ SOUTHERN DELAWARE

Gentlemen:

Mr. James L. Miller raises some important points in his letter on

Delaware (Second Quarter, 1995).

Delaware's heart certainly was with the South. In the election of 1860 John C. Breckinridge carried all three Delaware counties with a statewide vote of nearly 48%. Lincoln came in third with only 23%.

After South Carolina's secession the City of Wilmington fired a hundred-gun salute!

Governor William Burton was pro-secession but cautious and felt that Delaware should not make a move until both Virginia and Maryland had gone out. This hesitancy cost the Cause, as the Federal government moved to strengthen its hold on the state.

Judge Henry Dickinson of Mississippi visited the state as a representative of the Confederacy and reported back that "The Governor officers of the State, and six-sevenths of the people of Delaware are cordially with Mississippi in the Southern cause."

Both of the state's U.S. Senators James A Bayard and Willard Salisbury were pro-Southern. During the war Lincoln would intern both Senator Bayard and his son Thomas. The state's largest newspaper *The Dover Delawarean* was pro-secession as was *The Smyrna Times*. A mass meeting of nearly 2,000 people was held in Dover on June 27, 1861. It overwhelmingly passed a resolution allowing any State to withdraw peacefully from the Union.

There were a number of reasons Delaware did not secede: fear that the state would become a battlefield as it was the northern most slaveholding state, a desire of a large number of citizens to wait and see and to be left in peace, and most importantly the lack of one dynamic leader to push the Cause forward. Secessionist sentiment was strong and widely held, but disorganized.

Delaware was not in a strong military or geographical position in 1861. But, if a convention on statewide referendum had been held, especially in conjunction with Virginia and Maryland, gallant lit-

tle Delaware would have voted to "Go It."

Don Mathews
Seattle, Washington

★ BRAVEHEARTS

Gentlemen:

As a Canadian of Scots Irish Presbyterian background I have long felt an affinity with the regions of the South which were settled by my kinfolk. Once General Robert E. Lee was asked as to who were the "best soldiers." His response: "The Scots who came to this country by way of Ireland. Because they have all the dash of the Irish in taking up a position and all the stubbornness of the Scots in holding it." Very complimentary words from a gentleman of West County English descent.

Given that my name Greer (which I understand is also a city in South Carolina), is derived from MacGregor I read with interest Mary Alice Cook's review about the recent movie *Rob Roy*, (*Southern Partisan*, Second Quarter, 1995), a movie about my kinsman (or 'clansman', if I may!). This past June I visited Northern Ireland (or Ulster) and while in Belfast I went to watch *Rob Roy* at a local theatre. (Incidentally, the actor, Liam Neeson, who played Rob Roy started his career at a Belfast theatre. Mrs. Cook's review is correct concerning the film's good and bad points. No sensitive wife disliked the violence, but I was thrilled when hearing the great chieftain's words of wisdom.

I do wish to point out to Mrs. Cook some information about our "Scots Irish" forbearers who were planted in Ulster in the early 1600s, and then settled the American frontier in the 1700s. This hardy breed came mostly from the "Lowlands," and especially the areas bordering England. Yes there were Highlanders who settled the South, and who carried with them their values of kinship and honor. While the Highlanders did stub-

bornly resist the encroachments of the English-dominated central government, the Lowlanders were not as docile as you may think. The Lowlands were the source of Covenanter Presbyterian rebellion, and to use a phrase from Rory Fitzpatrick's comprehensive *God's Frontiersmen: The Scots Irish Epic* the "Reformed Kirk . . . represented (the) aspirations to liberty." Lowlanders also valued kinship, and they too represented their landlords. It was the desire to own the land they farmed which saw Scottish families first settle in the marshes and bog amid Ulster's rolling hills, and then later in the Appalachians.

When I was in Ulster a new book by Belfast journalist Billy Kennedy entitled *The Scots Irish in the Hills of Tennessee* was released. This well-researched work chronicles the settlement of the Volunteer State by Scots Irish, or Ulster Scots, and documents their influence in Southern culture, religion and in other areas of public life. If Mrs. Cook and others are interested, this book is published by Causeway Press, 9 Ebrington Terrace, Londonderry, Northern Ireland, United Kingdom, DT47 1JS. It sells for \$13.99 (US) plus \$2.00 for postage.

Should any *Southern Partisan* readers venture to the Emerald Isle, try to visit the Ulster America Folk Park near Omagh, County Tyrone. This park (donated by the Pennsylvania Mellons nonetheless) honours the Scots Irish immigrants who settled the South, as well as the North. There is an honoured place there for a great Scots Irish Confederate, General T.J. "Stonewall" Jackson.

Andrew Greer
Canada, K7L 508

★ THE DUKES OF HAZZARD

Gentlemen:

Three cheers for The Nashville Network (TNN)! After a decade of absence, *The Dukes of Hazzard*

has returned to national TV. One of the last shows to show Southerners (and our flag) in a positive light, it is a refreshing break from the South-bashing so prevalent in today's media. It shows something that we readers of *Southern Partisan* have always known; that Southerners aren't backward, inbred, racist, illiterates, we're mostly a bunch of honest folks just trying to get on in life, and live it our way, the Southern way. God Save the South and preserve her ideals!

Robert Campbell Elder
Cary, North Carolina
via CompuServe

★ MORE ON SLAVERY

Gentlemen:

Sam Francis needs no defense, he is capable of defending himself, however I wish to respond to Wayne C. Herring's letter (*Southern Partisan*, Fourth Quarter, 1995). As I am a complete unknown, I will inform Mr. Herring that I am a Southern Baptist layman, SCV member and a lawyer. To put Francis' article in context, it is about a resolution passed at our last Convention.

There is a difference in denouncing racism and declaring slavery sinful. We Southern Baptists condemned racism by resolution in the 1960s with nary a controversy. Last year while again condemning racism, we went further and declared slavery as sin and repudiated our ancestors.

This may well fit with the theology of many denominations, but Southern Baptists have traditionally believed in the inerrancy of the Bible. Our ethics are based upon that view of the Bible as we understand it. We consider it heresy to presume ethics devised by man can be preferred to the ethics of God as given us by His Word.

Sam Francis pointed out the hypocrisy we engaged in when we declared ourselves as being smarter than God and having

higher ethics than He or Moses, Job and other patriarchs who owned slaves. We also by our resolution effectively excommunicated Paul retroactively, assuming he would have chosen to be a Southern Baptist.

There is a difference between sin and desirability. Many Southern Baptist theologians prior to The War thought slavery undesirable, but hesitated to follow the "New England religion" of higher criticism in overriding God on the issue. Sam Francis is not unknown to me, and that is the sense I find in his article.

In the Book of Philemon, Paul referred to Philemon, a slaveholder, as his brother and fellow worker, hardly terms he would use for a non-Christian. Paul begged forgiveness for Philemon's escaped slave Onesimus whom Paul was returning to his owner, not putting on the "underground railroad". Paul even offered to pay for Onesimus' emancipation.

I am one Southern Baptist who does not consider himself possessing superior ethics or understanding of the Bible than Paul. Perhaps Independent Presbyterians do, or is that an oxymoron?

Carl D. Ford
Laurel, Mississippi

★ ATLANTA TORCHED

Gentlemen:

The hypocrisy of the anti-Southern bigots in Atlanta is reaching stunning heights. Take Holiday Inns, now infamous for their decision to remove the Georgia state flag from flying at their hotels across the state. They're part of a new television ad campaign hyping Atlanta and the 1996 Olympics. In the ad their English-accented president makes a goofy parody of a Southern accent, welcoming "y'all" to Atlanta. He fails to mention that Holiday Inns, in appeasing the forces of political correctness, has become an instrument in what former Georgia Governor Lester Mad-

dox accurately describes as the "Hate the South Campaign."

As a recent graduate of the University of Georgia, for years I watched the liberal media out of Atlanta fan the fires of this campaign. The *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, with its noxiously liberal reporting and editorial page, seemed to thrive on stirring up "controversy" over the state flag.

Where the great hypocrisy lies is that the masses from all over the globe who descend on Atlanta this summer, rather than being "offended" by the state flag (which one has to go outside Atlanta to find flying, anyway), are going to be interested in and captivated by Georgia's Confederate heritage. They'll want to go to Stone Mountain to see the massive carvings of Confederate leaders, they'll go to Kennesaw Mountain battlefield, they'll go south of Atlanta in search of "Tara's" home. Many will even want to see a Confederate flag, that memorial to the Confederacy which lives on in part through the Georgia state flag.

Of course, this kind of positive interest in Southern heritage won't be reported by the liberal media, who seem hellbent on using the Olympics as a reason to eradicate Southern heritage (as well as anti-sodomy laws, the death penalty, and other vestiges of conservatism which exist in the American South).

The irony is, Holiday Inn's employees will be giving the tourists directions to Civil War attractions by the thousands. And, of course, Holiday Inns will profit off being in Georgia even as they actively insult a majority of Georgians by boycotting the state flag.

Rod Miller
Memphis, Tennessee
via America Online



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Lincoln Loses A Fan

NOTE: Our guest writer for Partisan View this time is syndicated columnist Joseph Sobran who, from time to time, writes columns so provocative and so directly related to the purpose of this magazine that we devote this space to his reflections.

Is it possible to say a few words about Abraham Lincoln without sounding sacrilegious?

No question, Lincoln was a formidable man who had the force of character to preside at the great crisis of our history. He wrote with an eloquence that puts him in the company of Shakespeare and Milton: he shaped the way we still think, not only about the Civil War [sic], but [also] about our national identity itself.

But I must confess that my admiration for Lincoln is not as unqualified as it used to be. Far from it.

Though he was right about slavery, he himself acknowledged that slavery was not the central issue of the Civil War [sic]. The central issue was the preservation of the Union, and he said forthrightly that he would tolerate or abolish slavery, depending on which course would achieve his "paramount" goal of saving the Union from secession.

Much as Lincoln hated slavery, he wrote Horace Greely in 1862: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves and leaving others alone I would also do that." He agreed with Daniel Webster's credo:

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

A stirring cry. But experience has shown that liberty and the Union are far from "inseparable," and we have to choose whether liberty or union is to be our highest value.

During the Civil War [sic], Lincoln's commitment to saving the Union on any terms necessary put him in the awkward position of opposing an independence movement self-consciously modeled on the 1776 Revolution. In 1848 a younger, Jeffersonian Lincoln had said: "Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up, and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better."

But the final result of Lincoln's presidency was the direct denial of that right. As a practical matter, the Civil War [sic] established that no state may leave the Union at any time for any reason—even if the federal government becomes downright tyrannical and enslaves the entire population! There has been one Declaration of Independence, but there shall be no more.

Whatever Lincoln intended, it is no longer our rights but our government that is "unalienable."

For this reason, the critic Edmund Wilson ranked Lincoln with Bismarck and Lenin as one of the great consolidators of the modern imperial nation-state. The other two didn't delude themselves, or their subjects, that they were on the side of liberty. They were less sentimental than Lincoln, and caused less confusion.

You needn't approve of the Confederate cause in order to appreciate secession. Nothing would put a more salutary restraint on the federal government than the possibility that a member state might, at its discretion, end federal jurisdiction within its borders.

In fact, several of the states that ratified the Constitution, including New York, ratified with the express provision that they reserved the right to "resume" the powers that had been "delegated" to the federal government. They didn't contemplate civil war; they merely assumed that the Union was a means to the end of liberty, not an end or absolute in itself, and that they could justly dissociate themselves from it whenever they saw fit. This, and not Lincoln's position of 1862, was the doctrine of Jefferson's Declaration.

At Gettysburg, Lincoln implicitly rebuked the South for deleting the principle that "all men are created equal," which he called the proposition the United States was "dedicated to." But he himself deleted the principle that government is legitimate only insofar as it secures the "unalienable rights" of men, and that it may be "altered or abolished" when it ceases to do so.

If peaceful secession were a live option, many Americans would favor it today. But for the time being, the question is effectively closed. There is no exit from the federal government's jurisdiction, no matter how badly it abuses or exceeds its constitutional powers. That is the ultimate meaning of "Saving the Union."

☆

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obiter dicta.

Whose Idea Was the Line Item Veto?

This year, the United States Congress finally passed a law allowing the president to veto line items in the appropriations bill. The "line item veto" was a reform proposal that had been in the hopper for quite a while. But where did the idea originate? Was it Mr. Newt's Contract With America? Was it Ronald Reagan's vision?

Well, no. The idea actually dates back a bit earlier. In the spirit of fiscal restraint, the Confederate States of America included a line item veto for the President in its Constitution of 1861. In fact, according to William Robinson, in a study published in the *Journal of Southern History*, the Constitution of the CSA "marked the high point in American constitution-making."

Most of the Confederate document was identical to the original American Constitution. Southerners, after all, have always been loyal to the founding philosophy of the Republic from which the notion of secession was not a deviation. But there was one other constitutional innovation in the Confederate version: the President and the Vice-President were elected to a term of six years and not eligible for re-election. Sound familiar? In some circles the idea is known today as "term limits." Fortunately for the remnants of the American Republic, the old ideas of Dixie (along with the old times there) have apparently not been forgotten.

Amen, Brother...

The Kansas State Legislature may now understand that the power of prayer can be felt in many ways—sometimes like the whack of a two-by-four across the crown of apathy. Here's what happened:

The House was preparing for the opening of a routine morning session. We can be sure that the chamber was full of hung-over members and yawn-

ers still stupefied from the night-before. At the appointed time, the minister of the day came forward to give the opening prayer. Then all Heaven broke loose. These are a few excerpts from the prayer given by Reverend Joe Wright:

Heavenly Father...We come before you today to ask Your forgiveness and seek Your direction...We confess that we have ridiculed the absolute truth of Your word and called it moral pluralism...We have worshiped other gods and called it multiculturalism...We have endorsed perversion and called it an alternate lifestyle...We have rewarded laziness and called it welfare...We have killed the unborn and called it choice...We have shot abortionists and called it justifiable...We have neglected to discipline our children and called it building esteem...We have abused power and called it political savvy...We have ridiculed the time-honored values of our forefathers and called it enlightenment. Guide and bless these men and women who have been sent here...to govern this great state. Grant them Your wisdom to rule and may their decisions direct us to the center of Your will...Amen

Amen indeed. And what reaction did the prayer generate? Put mildly, the men and women in the Chamber who rule the great state of Kansas were stunned. The Wichita newspaper reported that "the House came alive with the flutter of agitation..." Some members even walked out in angry protest. It is not reported whether they went out, entered the bodies of swine and ran violently down a steep place into the sea. In any event, Brother Wright is not likely to be invited by a collection of politicians to pray again in Kansas.

Is It Okay to Hate? Well, it Depends...

Poor Marge Schott. As we all know, in 1993, she uttered a few ethnic slurs and the executive council of baseball fined her \$25,000, suspended for a year and every liberal pundit in America howled about how hateful and ugly and stupid she was.

Now, a few weeks ago, Marge made another off-hand comment to a reporter. She said Hitler did



"some good things" when he first came to power "and then he went nuts." Once again, the howls of anger, outrage and protest could be heard across the land. Marge has now issued a written apology and promised to be "more sensitive to all people." Even so, her mea culpa may not be enough. Acting baseball commissioner Bud Selig implied that more punishment might be in the offing for Marge. At this writing, he said "We will continue to monitor the situation." Translation: if agitators keep howling ever more wildly, he will be happy to slam Marge with another fine and another suspension. At all cost, the angry gods of political correctness will be appeased, and increasingly they have a taste for human sacrifice. Poor Jimmy the Greek, recently deceased, is another example.

So Marge and Jimmy are not allowed to hate or make ethnic jokes or even to express eccentric views. But some people are allowed to hate and to insult minorities with total impunity. Last year, for example, U.S. Congressman Charlie Rangel compared House Republicans to Nazis, and that was fine. No members of the mainstream media cried out for his expulsion. No expressions of outrage against his brand of hatemongering.

And now, just a few weeks ago, another congressman (Peter King of New York) viciously maligned the entire South. Criticizing Southern congressmen, he said: "...they are typical of the South—a union-hating, ignorant, hillbilly, revival-meeting attending bunch that represents everything unAmerican." Now, have you ever read a more bigoted, prejudicial slam against an entire people? Suppose a Southerner began a similar tirade against, say, black people or Jewish people with the same words, to wit: "...they are typical of..." (fill in the ethnic group of your choice and then finished the sentence with a string of negative stereotypes). What would have happened? Among other things, ABC's *Nightline* would have had its topic for a full week, and Bryant Gumble would have required restraints.

So, remember the new American code for the politically correct. It's okay, even fashionable, to hate. But be sure to pick the objects of your hatred very carefully.

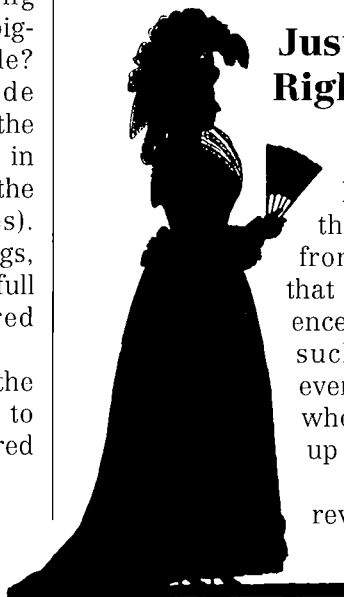
Yes, the Truth Does Go Marching On

A *Partisan* reader in Tennessee sent us a clip from the Commercial Appeal that requires more than passing notice. It tells the story of Louis Napoleon Nelson, a Confederate soldier who fought bravely with General Forrest's 7th Tennessee Cavalry.

Nelson's grandson, Nelson Winbush, arrived recently in Memphis to address the annual banquet of the Forrest Camp of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV). He drove to Forrest Park on Union Avenue to pay his respects to his grandfather and to Forrest, to whom his grandfather had been so totally devoted. On his chest Winbush proudly displayed several pins symbolizing his membership in the SCV. And he wore a baseball cap with the image of Robert E. Lee and the words: "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny."

Of course, the SCV has many members who all wear pins and revere the memory of their ancestors. So why is Nelson Winbush unusual? Because he is a black member of the SCV who reminds us of a fact that is lost in the shallow pool of modern historical awareness: thousands of blacks were loyal to the South during the War and fought for the Confederacy. Winbush has a touching photograph of his grandfather, after the War, as a very old man, standing proudly at attention in his Confederate Gray uniform.

"They fought, ate and prayed together," Winbush said. "You won't see this in the history books because the history books are written by Yankees. They aren't about to put in there that they had some black dudes shooting at their a**es for keeps." Enough said. Words always have a sharp bite when the aim is true.



Just Be Sure To Spell It Right

The enemies of the South have proven once again that they don't know good publicity from bad, or, more importantly, that there is often very little difference. The old adage "There is no such thing as bad publicity" is even more true in our age. Those who seek to destroy you can end up making you stronger.

A good example of this reverse effect is the recent agitation surrounding the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia. The museum is currently celebrating its centennial. As a part of the commemoration they hosted an Old South Ball complete with ante-bellum music and participants in Confederate uniforms and period dress. The event, organized to help raise money for the museum, was met with swift derision from certain quarters. Douglas Wilder, Virginia's ex-governor and aspiring radio talk-show host, castigated

the ball's organizers, alleging that they posed an irritant to black sensibilities. On NBC's *Today* show Mr. Wilder posed the rhetorical question: "Why don't you put a slave ship there on the outside rather than those tents and the gray uniforms?"

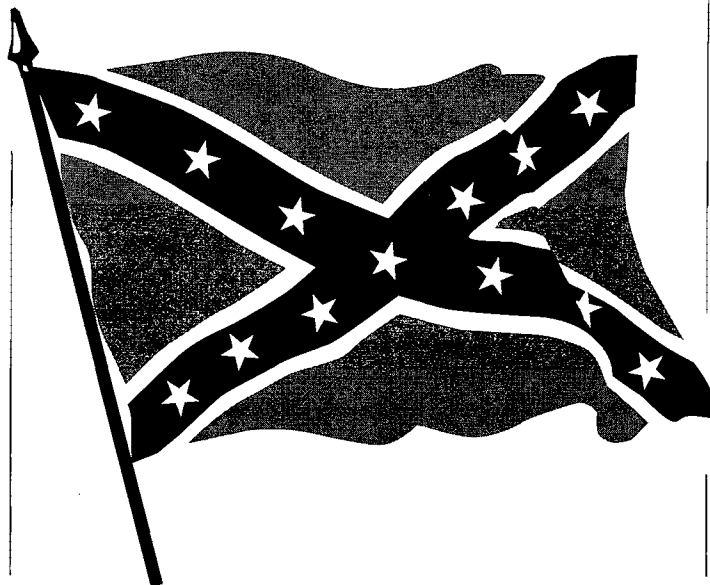
The response from the museum was measured, reasonable and barely audible under the roar of invective. There was even a threat of a political protest by one or more of those groups who move toward controversy like heat-seeking missiles.

The net result, however, was this: the Museum of the Confederacy carried on, and the ball was a grand success. In fact, if Mr. Wilder and his whiny friends had not raised such a big stink, the event would have received very little publicity and, likely, would have been far less successful.

Another example can be found in South Carolina, Georgia and the United States Senate, where efforts to remove, alter or repudiate Confederate flags in one form or another have received gallons of press ink and hours of TV time. The net result of the attack on the Flag has been a closing of ranks among Southerners, an increase in membership for heritage groups (like the Sons of Confederate

Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy) and a big jump in sales for Confederate flags of all types, shapes and sizes (and a sharp increase in the number of *Southern Partisan* subscribers). So, thank you Doug Wilder.

Hope to hear from you again real soon.



Scalawag Award



A SOMETIME CONTENDER

Our Scalawag for this issue is going to be a tough one to write. In fact, it may be necessary to create a special subdivision of the award for people who, in the main, are okay, even meritorious, but who have dipped into the vile brew of Scalawagery to serve an immediate purpose. Sort of temporary Scalawags. After all, insults launched by friends can sometimes be the most hurtful of all.

Terry Eastland, a native of Texas and a graduate of Vanderbilt, is just such a case. Mr. Eastland is editor of *Forbes MediaCritic*, and he has a lot of very bright things to say about reforms that are badly needed in our land. In his recent book, *Ending Affirmative Action: The Case of Colorblind Justice*, for example, Mr. Eastland correctly concludes that

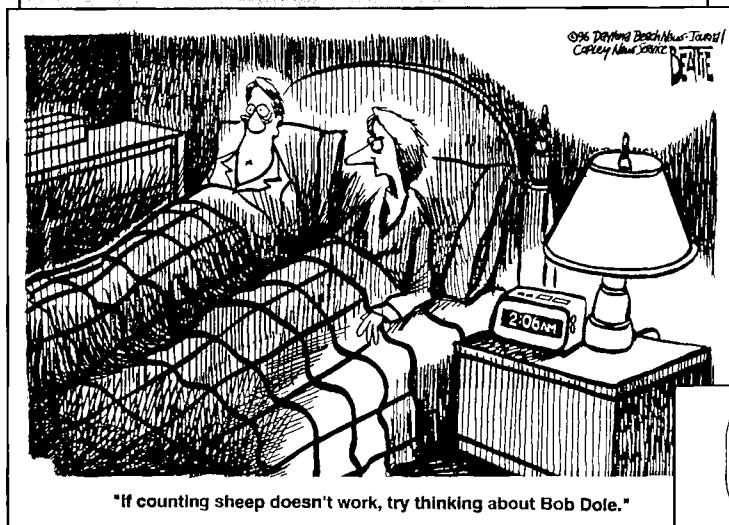
affirmative action is not only a failed federal program but it is leaking a poison into the American body politic. All true.

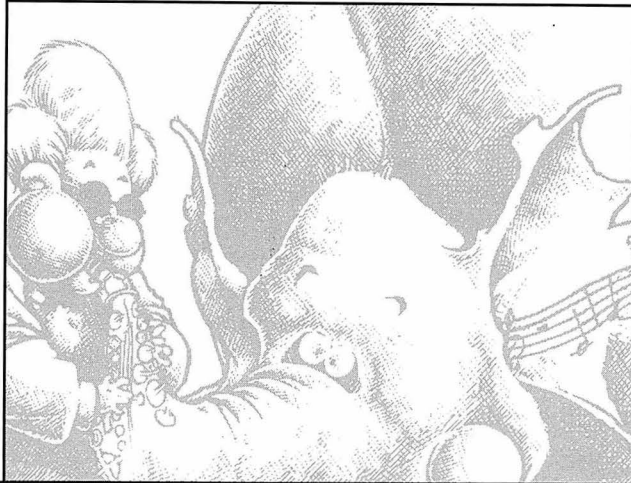
Unfortunately, in promoting his book, Mr. Eastland is oh-so-very anxious to portray himself as high-minded and pure on the issue of race, obviously thus hoping to establish the credentials he feels he needs to be heard on a controversial issue and to avoid being called a racist. So, when he appeared on the Charlie Rose talk show, and the talk turned to the War Between the States, he had this to say: "You have to realize we fought the Civil War over one issue—race." Indeed.

His book is also full of high praise for Abraham Lincoln ("Few Americans have stated the case for equality as cogently as Abraham Lincoln") and the Declaration of Independence, which he seems to confuse with the Constitution as the founding document of the American republic.

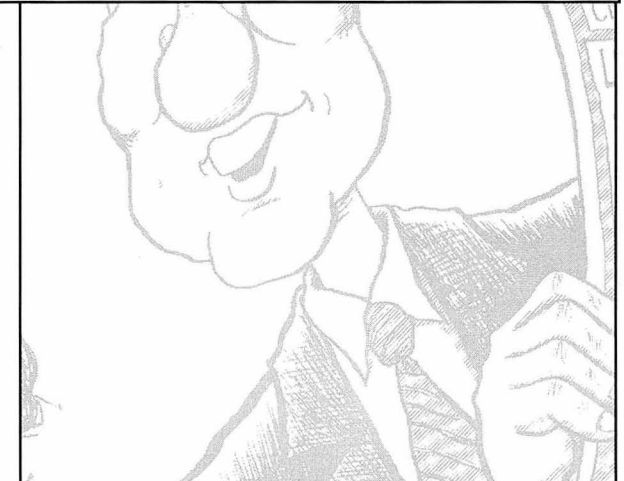
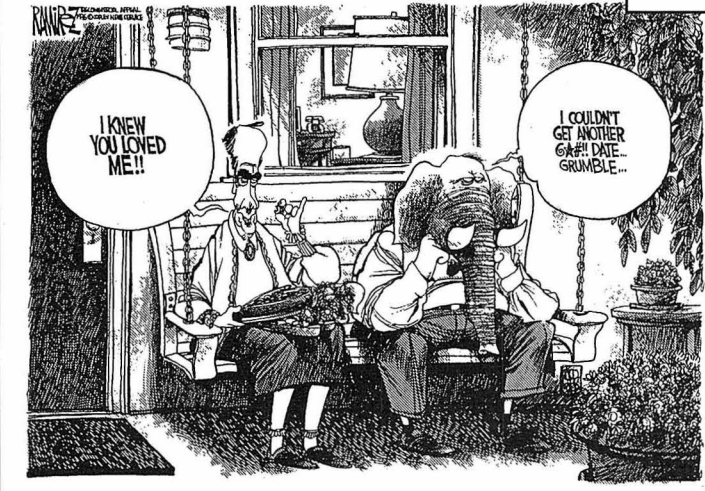
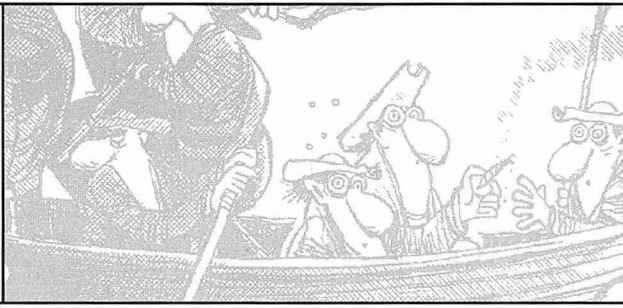
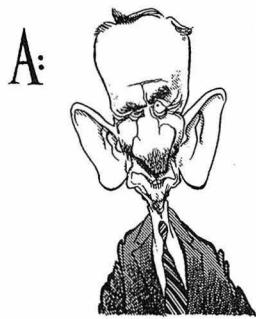
Well, we believe Terry Eastland knows better. It really isn't necessary to malign the historic motives of the South in a futile effort to be accepted by the media elites who review books. No matter how many liberal incantations he utters, as soon as he proposes abolishing affirmative action, he's going to be called a racist anyway. So, our Scalawag this time is Terry Eastland, although we hope his is not a terminal case. Soon may he recover.

PARTISAN *toons*





Q: What has big ears, is commonly referred to as a jackass and makes Democrats happy just thinking about it?



The Invisible Presidency

by Gordon Jackson

About a year and a half ago President Clinton, beset with a vicious press, abysmal poll numbers, a hostile Congress and one crisis after another, summoned the services of self-help gurus Anthony Robbins and Steven Covey. Ever since, it has been a steady progression upward in the polls. He appears now to have risen in the public's estimation from dissembling scoundrel to an innocuous fixture of the Washington landscape. He has all but removed himself from the public discourse on matters of policy, and as a result apparently has positioned himself superbly for November's reelection bid.

The president's renewed good fortune dating from his meeting with the self-helpers may be simply coincidence. Covey's advice generally seems to be something along the lines of: fix your grasp firmly on the rudder of principle, and let the devil take the hindmost. But no one has ever suspected Clinton of dogged principledness, before or after taking instruction from Brother Covey (a devout Mormon). Robbins typically commends acting as if you were already in possession of the virtue you wish to acquire, in the expectation that if you pretend well enough it will soon enough appear. Clinton has been doing a pretty good job lately of keeping himself out of such embarrassing situations as having to respond to the inquiries of young girls about his underwear, so perhaps he has been pretending, with some degree of success, to be presidential.

Also, dating back roughly a year and a half are the services rendered to the president by political consultant, Richard Morris, he of the centrist "triangulation" strategy. Under his tutelage, Clinton has brandished the rhetoric of social conservatism, standing foursquare for family, country, home, hearth, and all things good, while lambasting the Hollywood polluters of the culture with whom he used to party.

But whatever he has done, or forfended from doing, Clinton seems primarily to be the beneficiary of good old dumb luck, for the Republicans have presented him with an opponent whose cynicism can match his own. Though Robert Dole will try to depict himself as the stalwart defender of liberty, contrasting with Clinton's fast-talking, draft-dodging, flim-flam man persona, Dole cannot hide the fact that he adheres to no political principle but the magic of his own star. As in '92, we will have an election between two agendaless candidates, and at this point the public seems prepared to stick with the devil they know better.

As in '92, the South has ensured that this will be the choice. For the second election season in a row, Patrick Buchanan has come out of the New Hampshire primary with considerable momentum, only to be shot down in the South, where he expected to "run to daylight." The region's Republicans seem to prefer a certain seemliness in their candidates, a combination of dues having been paid, hands unsullied with messy issues, and the reputation for going along with business as usual in Washington that keeps the pres-

tige from getting too nasty. Dole is the quintessence of respectable centrist Republicans—also known as losers, in national elections.

Because if Republicans don't have anything much they want to do with the presidency, what earthly reason is there to vote for them? With the liberals, we get lots of warm, gooey rhetoric about the family of man, stirring crusades for civil liberty, and assorted soap operas involving high public officials with a multiplicity of passions and sexual passions and sexual preferences. Why replace such entertainment with the likes of Bob Dole?

The answer in the past usually has been that the Republicans won't muck up the economy and the federal judiciary as much. I'm not so sure that's a good enough reason anymore.

There is one issue out there that Dole could use to distinguish himself from Clinton—the right to life. Clinton just now is running one of his few risks trying to secure his electoral base by tiptoeing over the abortion minefield. He has vetoed the partial birth abortion ban bill passed by large margins in Congress, incurring in the process the outspoken wrath of America's Catholic leaders. Dole may be certain that once Planned Parenthood and the gay rights crowd have been thrown a bone, it will be back to the rose garden for the president and no more will be done to give Republicans a shot at the Reagan Democrats.

So, what about it, Bob Dole? Is abortion a profound moral issue that should finally be debated vigorously in a presidential election? I won't hold my breath waiting for an answer. ☆

CSA Today



Alabama

If you don't know exactly what a "petard" is, you're not alone. A petard is not a spear, as many people think, but an explosive device. The only time you ever hear the word these days is in the expression "hoisted with his own petard," which Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary explains as "blown up by his own bomb."

If you still don't understand the phrase, then consider this news item. A federal judge has just ordered the black-dominated government of Birmingham to pay 14 white firefighters and one engineer back pay for having denied them promotions because of their race.



Arkansas

You may have seen a picture of Barbara Adams in the newspaper: a woman with an intense face in full costume. She was an alternate juror in the Whitewater trial, and she was dressed in a maroon-and-black Star Trek outfit, complete with Star Fleet insignia and a couple of gizmos that looked like futuristic walkie-talkies. Neither the defense nor the prosecution threw her out, nor did U.S. District Judge George Howard, Jr. caution her about her dress. So she ended up in the third alternate position.

However, after the judge had directed all jurors to avoid contact with the press, Ms. Adams gave an interview to *American Journal*, in which she talked about her flamboyant get-up. At that point, the judge

removed her from the jury.

In her interview, she spoke about why she wore her costume, saying she was a devotee of good ol' *Star Trek* and wanted to dramatize its virtues, which she said included the promotion of peace, inclusiveness, tolerance, and faith in human beings.

Just the kind of person we don't want on a jury weighing the fate of the Clintons and their cronies.



Florida

As of this writing, experts still haven't explained the mysterious deaths of manatees in the waters of southwest Florida. Since January, 61 of the huge, genial creatures have been found dead, 30 over a nine-day period in early March. All have been suffering from pneumonia, but under ordinary circumstances healthy Manatees recover from the disease.

This latest rash of deaths suggests that the entire surviving herd of 2,600 may be in jeopardy.

As Marine scientist Scott Wright put it: "We've been hesitant to say it, but what we're seeing is indicative of a die-off situation."

The chief danger to manatees — increased motorboat traffic in southwest Florida waters.



Georgia

The Olympics this summer will be anti-climactic to most educated Atlantans, who, in early March, witnessed a much more exciting and relevant competition — the Grand National Turkey Calling

Championships. No one will be able to take pole vaulting or synchronized swimming very seriously with the sound of a hundred gobble-gobbles still echoing in their ears.

In addition, the event was sponsored by the makers of Wild Turkey, a much more useful product than anything that's likely to sponsor the Olympics.

And speaking of the Olympics, you remember that Governor Zel Miller wanted to remove the Confederate flag from the Georgia flag so the state wouldn't be embarrassed when folks from other parts of the world came to Atlanta for the games. Funny thing, he never mentioned the turkey callers.



Kentucky

Minnie Anne Smith of Lexington believes the ghost of her dead husband is haunting her in the form of a blue jay that hollers just outside her window — and she wants it stopped.

"I can tell it's him," she said, "because I recognize his voice. Only it's a little more annoying now than it was when he was alive. I liked to sleep late in the morning, and he was always waking me up. Now he's doing it again."

Neighbors have verified that indeed there is a blue jay hanging around outside her window and that it's unusually bold and noisy.

"I also recognize him from the arrogant way he cocks his head and sticks his little butt out," Mrs. Smith said. "I'd get me a B.B. gun, but I don't believe in killing birds. However, I'm buying me a couple of cats when my Social Security check comes in, and I'm not putting bells on them either. If the cats get him, then it'll be good ol' Mother Nature at work."



Louisiana

Attorneys for four-year-old Judith Hart have been battling the Social Security Administration in order to win survivor benefits for her. Her father, Edward Hart, was an aerospace engineer. He was married to her mother. He died of cancer in 1990. Yet a Social Security appeals panel overturned the ruling of a judge and denied her claim.

The grounds for denial: She'd been conceived through artificial insemination after her father's

death. Keep in mind that the Supreme Court of the United States had already ruled that these same benefits can't be denied to illegitimate children or to the children of deceased illegal aliens.

Her lawyers persisted, and recently the opposition caved in. In March, Social Security Commissioner Shirley Chater ruled that Judith was entitled to the benefits. The lawyers said they were surprised — maybe because the federal government came down on the side of legitimacy and citizenship.



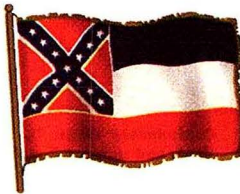
Maryland

If you want to know just how far our public schools have settled into the slime, consider this fact: The Montgomery County school board has just passed a rule forbidding public school teachers and other adult employees from having sex with students. (This new regulation, by the way, is an addition to already existing prohibitions against "sexual harassment.")

Now why do you suppose a school system would have to spell out such a policy? You'd think it would be self-evident. Well, for one thing, Ronald Price, a teacher from nearby Anne Arundel County, boasted on national television that he'd dated and had sexual relations with seven female students. Hence the need for a written policy.

So what's next? A rule against teaching naked? You hate even to mention hypothetical examples, because next month you'll tune in *Geraldo* and see that somebody's already done that very thing in your local high school.

(If it's any consolation, the Montgomery County board voted unanimously to prohibit sex between teachers and children.)



Mississippi

The American Family Association of Tupelo has just acquired its 115th radio station. The network extends to all sections of the country — from Washington State to Illinois to Pennsylvania — but the Word comes from Mississippi. In addition to Christian sermons, talk shows, and music, the AFA also offers its own news coverage, including updates from the organization's Washington representative, Pat Trueman.

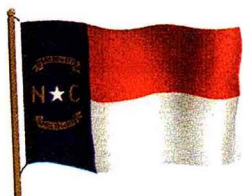
After years and years of Peter Jennings and Dan Rather, you'll find it refreshing to hear a woman with a soft Southern accent reporting stories the networks never touch. The more you listen, the more you realize the folks at ABC and CBS live in one world and you in another.



Missouri

Josh Carlyle, a 10-year-old boy with Down's Syndrome, wandered off into the Ozark mountains and was missing for three days. Since temperatures fell below ten degrees, everyone feared the worst. Then a man riding on horseback heard barks and discovered Josh, shivering but alive. Two stray dogs had adopted him, apparently curling up with him at night to provide warmth. The boy was rushed to a hospital and treated for frostbitten toes.

When he comes home, two pampered dogs will be lying by the crackling fire, wagging their tails, waiting for him.



North Carolina

Yes, folks, Jesse Helms is running for reelection, and apparently Harvey Gantt will again be his Democratic opponent. Last time Helms defeated Gantt, the entire national press corps, half of Hollywood, and several dozen busloads of voters from neighboring states — and did it with room to spare. Judging from John McCaslin of the *Washington Times*, Jesse's going to be just as tough this time as he was in 1990.

As he was coming out of the White House after President Clinton signed a bill cracking down on Cuba, a reporter said to him, "You know, the Cuban government says repeatedly that this law is going to have no impact, that in reality the other governments are not going to pay attention to what it says, on the contrary it's illegal because it goes against NAFTA and GATT. What's your impression? Do you think —"

Jesse interrupted: "Will you deliver a message to the Cuban government for me? Dream on!"



Oklahoma

If you're a fan of "Cops," here's a sequence you're likely to see on an upcoming broadcast. Michael John Sparks, a truck driver, went wild recently and crashed his rig into five other vehicles over a two-hour period during which state troopers pursued him at speeds of over 80 miles an hour. During this smashing ride, at least four people were injured, one critically.

The Cops were finally able to stop Sparks by studying the highway and puncturing his tires. He ended up in the Clinton jail with multiple charges pending.

As comic strip character Barney Google used to say to his horse, "Who-o-o-a Sparkie!"



South Carolina

Amid posturing and harumphing from the administration of Lakeside Middle School, 14-year-old Jamie Kinley was suspended from school for wearing a jacket made from the Confederate flag. According to principal Don Saxon, the wearing of the garment could have disrupted the campus. Jamie pointed out that his jacket hadn't caused any fights and that black students were allowed to wear Malcolm X shirts. But administrators still banned the jacket. Translation: They weren't willing to take the necessary disciplinary measures to make black students behave.

Let's see, now. Didn't school officials 40 years ago make the same argument about disruption when they were fighting integration? Now, we'll admit the two aren't exact parallels. In the case of segregation, it was a violation of the 14th Amendment and in the case of James Kinley it was a violation of the First Amendment. It seems that all constitutional amendments are equal, but some amendments are more equal than others.



Tennessee

The recent debate over legislation to forbid the teaching of evolution as "fact" has both amused and

angered the national press; which wants to draw parallels between current proposals and the law that provoked the famous "Monkey Trial" of John Scopes.

The Tennessee attorney general believes the bill is unconstitutional because of a 1987 Supreme Court ruling against "scientific creationism." But he misses the point. The theory of evolution is not "a fact" — not because it isn't true, or because it's criticized by creationists, but because "facts" and "an explanation involving facts" are two different things.

As Southern rhetorician Richard Weaver explained, the existence of fossils is fact. That there is an evolutionary connection between these fossils is an opinion about fact. The proposition that the theory of evolution is true is an opinion about an opinion about fact. Whether or not it's a true opinion is an entirely different question, and one worth arguing.

Most people don't realize that the Darwinian theory of gradual evolution from one species to another is under severe attack within the scientific community today. Some of the most respected evolutionists now admit that the fossil evidence is insufficient to explain the phenomenon of higher types. These experts are now turning to alternative theories, including the idea that from time to time "monsters" were born that were subsequent breeders of a new and more formidable species.

The old-fashioned evolutionists are on the run in their own field, and consequently are more and more worried about admitting that Darwin no longer works for a growing number of their colleagues. Hence their almost hysterical resistance to the Tennessee legislation.

The bottom line: If you doubt that human beings evolved from primordial slime in gradual steps — from bug to monkey to human — then you may not be an old fogey after all. You may be as *au courant* as Professor Gould of Harvard.



Texas

On Friday, February 9th at 6:22 p.m., Linda Kelley and her kin folks made Texas history.

They were the first family in the state to watch the execution of a killer who murdered a loved one.

The condemned man, Leo Jenkins, had shot and killed both Mrs. Kelley's son and daughter at the pawn shop where they worked, apparently with little or no motive. When authorities injected him with

a lethal dose that evening, the Kelleys watched without flinching. As a matter of fact, they said it was easy.

"I'm sorry," Linda Kelley said, "but this was not difficult at all. I'm glad it's over and I'm glad it's done, and I'm glad he's off this earth."

When questioned further, she said:

"Our life is over. We are not, and never will be, the same people. My husband and I are not living, we're just existing. We don't care whether we live or die."

Richard Dieter of the Death Penalty Information Center in Washington, a professional opponent of the death penalty, said, "It's sort of a symbolic gesture, but what they will see is not so much something that will give them retribution, not anything like what they suffered. They won't see a violent death...."

You've got a point, Richard. Maybe the Texas legislature should scrap lethal injection and go back to electrocution — or stoning.



Virginia

The general election this year may be less important to many Virginians than — no kidding, folks — the Republican primary. Senator John Warner is facing what may be a formidable challenge from former Reagan Administration official Jim Miller. Miller ran an ugly campaign against Oliver North in the Republican primary two years ago and was soundly defeated. However, Warner offended North supporters even more by backing a third-party candidate in the general election. (North lost the election by three percentage points; the third-party candidate drew 11 percent.)

The dominant wing of the Republican Party — which is conservative — is much madder at Warner than at Miller, in part because of North, in part because Miller is more conservative on the social issues. For example, his position on abortion is "no- exceptions, no-excuses," while Warner has voted for federal funding of abortions in D.C. and, more recently, to prohibit partial-birth, late term abortions.

Warner could easily defeat the Democrat in November, but Miller probably couldn't. The dilemma for Virginia conservatives: Do we hate John Warner enough to elect a liberal Democrat to the Senate? Right now the answer to that question is anybody's guess.

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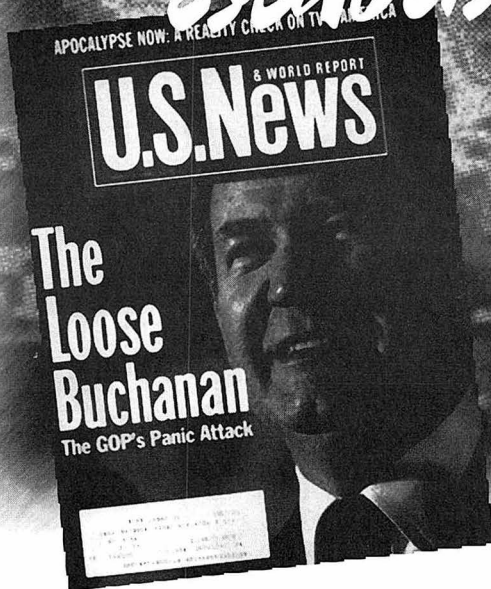
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HURRICANE PAT

*The storm that
rocked the
establishment*

(and may yet again)

by Tom Landess



As we go to press,
the Establishment is clearing the rubble.

Corporate executives are unpling bricks, looking for their public affairs directors. Wall Street Brokers, shoes off, pants rolled up, are pumping three feet of water out of the basement of the New York Stock Exchange. Haley Barbour is handing out coffee and doughnuts to the survivors. State Farm adjusters are assessing the damage to Republican national headquarters.

The press has all but departed from the scene, bored now that the storm has dissipated. In the sun-drenched gardens of New Hampshire, the first crocuses are opening their yellow and purple heads.

Hurricane Pat is history.

What remains is the terrible question: After doing so well in the Midwest and New England, why did Pat Buchanan, the most conservative candidate in the Republican presidential race, suffer such a devastating defeat in the South, the nation's most conservative region? Why, of all people, did Southerners reject him in overwhelming numbers at the polls? Why didn't his social conservatism, his Confederate ancestry, his fearless support of the Battleflag, his nationalistic fervor fail to win him the support of people he regarded as his own flesh and blood? And why would they vote for stolid Bob Dole from Bleeding Kansas?

You've heard the standard explanations, most of which are economic: The South believes in free trade; immigration has supplied Southern business with good, cheap labor; in the midst of prosperity, Southerners aren't worried about losing their jobs to the Mexicans or the Chinese. These explanations are certainly rele-

vant, but they are not the most important factors in Buchanan's loss. Here are the two principal problems he faced.

1. *No public reputation could survive the type and intensity of personal vilification that the media directed against Pat Buchanan — abuse magnified by the power of television and hence unprecedented in the history of American politics.*

If you look back through American newspapers in the 1930s and early 1940s, you'll discover that Adolph Hitler got a better press than Pat Buchanan, probably because Hitler was a socialist rather than a conservative Republican. That statement needs slight qualification. The press treated Buchanan with some semblance of objectivity until the night of February 20, 1996. The temperature of the attacks rose slightly but perceptibly after his strong second place showing in Iowa. Then, immediately following his victory in New Hampshire, the press fell into wild delirium, and the attacks were nothing short of maniacal — the babble of people driven mad by a raging fever.

This instant and almost unanimous burst of *ad hominem* attack was triggered by many feelings, but mostly by ideological animosity and an excess of faith in historical precedent. Traditionally the Republican who had won New Hampshire had gone on to claim the GOP nomination. Having dismissed Buchanan as a marginal candidate with no chance of challenging Dole, the nation's press corps was jolted awake to face a grim prospect.

Buchanan just might win the Republican nomination. And if that happened, Buchanan might just beat Bill Clinton. And if that happened, Buchanan might just cause all, both great and small, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads; and no one would be able to buy or sell, save he had the mark, or the name of Buchanan or the number of his name, which, the nation's press believes, is six hundred threescore and six.

With the Beast rearing his hideous head, everyone in the media began singing the same nasty little song from the same nasty little hymn book.

The three major weekly "news" magazines — *Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and World Report* — all pulled out their rhetorical cudgels and began to flail away. *Newsweek* and *U.S. News* immediately slapped sinister photographs of Buchanan on their covers. *Time*, which had already featured an artist's beefy-faced rendition the previous week, stuck a hard-hat mini-Pat in the upper righthand corner over the legend "The Case Against Buchanan."

The article, by Richard Lacayo, was a typical *Time* smear — mostly *ad hominem* attacks and guilt-by-association. In the guise of reporting, Lacayo had simply strung together one quote after another by

Buchanan's critics, rivals, and enemies, most of the examples centering on alleged bigotry. The H-Bomb in *Time*'s limited arsenal of rhetorical weaponry included:

► Larry Speakes: "*I hadn't encountered anyone like Pat since I had to deal with the White Citizens' Councils in my days as a Mississippi newspaper editor.*"

► AFL-CIO president John Sweeney: "*Buchanan is a racist, he's anti-Semitic, he bashes women's rights along with labor and immigrants, and he's a believer in supply-side economics.*"

► William F. Buckley, Jr.: "*It is impossible to defend Pat Buchanan against the charge [of anti-Semitism].*"

► "*Last week Phil Gramm accused Buchanan's campaign of scoring his Louisiana caucus victory thanks to followers of Duke.*"

Lacayo spent a good deal of *Time* (and space) attempting to hang David Duke around Buchanan's neck like a dead chicken, as if Duke's unwanted support were relevant. ["In suburban New Orleans last month the candidate had to squirm and dodge to avoid being embraced by Duke in front of the cameras." (Note the suggestive phrase "in front of the cameras.") "The New York Times reported a Duke connection to three of Buchanan's Louisiana delegates...." "One day later the Buchanan organization in South Carolina had to purge another Duke supporter." As if every candidate didn't attract kooks and freaks.]

Lacayo also mustered several paragraphs of "evidence" that Buchanan was an anti-Semite.

► "The only people seeking war, [Buchanan] said, were in the government of Israel and 'its amen corner in the Congress.'"

► "Hitler? A mass murderer, Buchanan admits in a 1977 piece, but a man of 'great courage.'" (The word "admits" here approaches slander, suggesting that somehow the bulk of the Buchanan article was pro-Hitler, which is maliciously untrue.)

► Buchanan fought the deportation of two accused war criminals (one of whom, John Demjanjuk, was falsely charged with being the Butcher of Treblinka).

In an issue dated March 4 but on the newsstands prior to the Arizona and South Carolina primaries, *Newsweek* put Pat Buchanan on its cover. The photograph was obviously an old one. When it was taken, Buchanan's hair was thicker and darker than it is today, and he was probably a good 15 pounds lighter.

But it was the expression on the face that made it so right for the large red-and-white caption *PREACHING FEAR: WHY AMERICA IS LISTENING*. It almost seemed as if they'd had to go back a few years to catch Buchanan in such a saturnine mood, because by the time he'd reached New Hampshire, he'd been smiling so much he looked as merry and crinkly-eyed as a tippling Santa.

That portrait clearly complemented the four photographs reproduced inside: Huey Long, George Wallace, Sen. Joseph McCarthy, and Father Coughlin. You didn't have to read the copy to get the message: Demagogues all!

But in case you missed the point, Professor Alan Brinkley of Columbia provided the text:

Buchanan has much in common with [Huey] Long: the swagger, the sneering contempt for the "establishment," the suspicion of foreign people and foreign entanglements. But he is even more reminiscent of Long's contemporary and occasional rival: Father Charles E. Coughlin whose intensely political radio sermons each Sunday during the Great Depression made him a major national figure. (Buchanan's father was among his avid listeners.) Coughlin is remembered today mostly for the ugly anti-Semitism that dominated his later years. For a time before that, however, he was chiefly notable for his scathing attacks on capitalists and international bankers.

* * *

He has the bullying, shirt-sleeve "I'm one of you" style that Joe McCarthy used so effectively in the 1950's. (He even bears an eerie resemblance to McCarthy, and seems to have the same raspy laugh that accompanied some of McCarthy's angriest statements.)

* * *

Buchanan has begun with a heavy dose of homophobia, xenophobia, subtle (and at times less than subtle) ethnic and racial prejudice, anti-feminism and hints of anti-Semitism. (Has any major American politician ever defended Nazis as zealously and publicly as Buchanan has done?) [emphasis in original]

The syndicated columnists also chanted along, some of them making the same dubious point about Buchanan's physical resemblance to Joe McCarthy. Predictably, those writing in liberal newspapers called Buchanan all the usual names in their limited lexicon. But op-ed writers in the conservative *Washington Times* joined in the attack, principally to denounce Buchanan's views on issues of free trade and immigration. Other examples...

► Richard Cohen of the *Washington Post* wrote

that Buchanan has been accused "and for sufficient and good reason — of being a racist, homophobe, anti-semitic, nativist, sexist who turns civil libertarian only when Nazis are involved. For them, he would organize a sit-in." After this stream of invective he perorates by comparing Buchanan to Louis Farrakhan: "Both men are intolerant. Both use abrasive language, knowing full well what they say and then registering shock that they have somehow offended. They live in a fetid fantasy world where imaginary enemies compel unity."

► Black columnist William Raspberry began a column with this statement: "Let me say it plain: I don't like Pat Buchanan. I despise his politics and his political tactics. I find him arrogant and demagogic. If he's not a full-fledged racist, he is as close to the real thing as I ever want to see."

► Tony Snow in the *Washington Times*: "[Buchanan] tells us not to accept responsibility for our anxieties and instead to punish handpicked bad guys. In his world, avaricious greaseballs threaten to poison our culture by inundating our shores with their blood and treasure—leaving us with no choice but to impose high tariffs and seal off our borders."

And the networks piled on as well. In perhaps the most bigoted media attack on Buchanan, ABC's *Nightline*, presided over by Ted Koppel, strongly suggested that Buchanan's Catholic background had been responsible for his rhetorical excesses and alleged antisemitism. In the course of this highly loaded account, *Nightline*, like *Newsweek*, reported that Buchanan's father had been an avid fan of Father Coughlin, the anti-semitic priest who built an enormous radio audience in the 1930's. It turned out the story was untrue, as Ted Koppel admitted the next night, in an apology delivered after the polls had closed in Arizona.

In their effort to smear Buchanan through guilt by association, the media even involved *Southern Partisan*, since, to the Eastern Establishment, anything "Southern" is offensive, sinister, and serious trouble. Unfortunately, too few Southerners had read the *Partisan* to recognize the media's caricature for what it was.

Several months before the South Carolina primary, a reporter from the *New York Times* caught a plane to South Carolina and investigated the *Partisan* much as he might have investigated a junk bond billionaire. We'd have been flattered had we not known what lay in the back of his mind—Pat Buchanan's candidacy. The editors answered all his questions, explained the nature of the magazine, pointed out the many, many times we'd unequivocally opposed racism and anti-Semitism, and generally satisfied his curiosity about our off-beat historical perspective. (As

[illegible]

Southern Partisan • 1st Quarter 1996 • 21

to this magazine, and the large number of *Partisan* articles that have spoken glowingly of Jewish contributions to Southern life (Judah P. Benjamin, Bernard Baruch, Solomon Blatt).

Other publications, equally ignorant of the *Partisan's* judophilic stance, attempted to press the anti-semitic charge by lifting a single quotation out of context. Thus *The Ethnic NewsWatch*, in an attack on Buchanan, found an 11-year-old column by Reid Buckley (Bill's brother) in which he wrote: "To the Jews, for example—understandably—the distinctively Christian endowment of this nation could be no part of their heritage; they would therefore agitate for radical secularization of our society." Buckley had long since departed from the *Partisan* when Pat Buchanan came aboard, and the conclusions (though not the wording) in that passage have often been voiced by the ACLU. But *Ethnic NewsWatch* printed the following quotation from yet another informed and objective scholar:

"It's shocking," said James Loewen, a professor of sociology at the University of Vermont and the author of The Lies My Teacher Told Me. Mr Loewen compared the neo-Confederates to neo-Nazi groups in Germany. "If [Chancellor] Kohl were meeting with these people and giving them interviews with their party newspapers, we'd be all over them, and yet, somehow, it's okay to do that here."

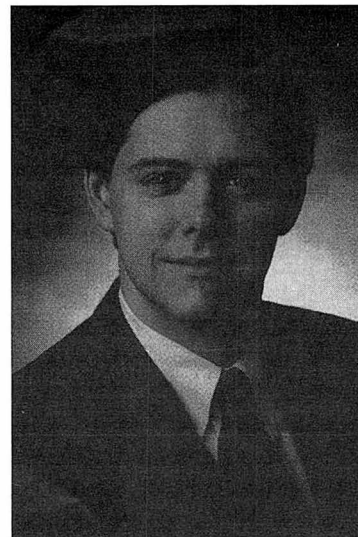
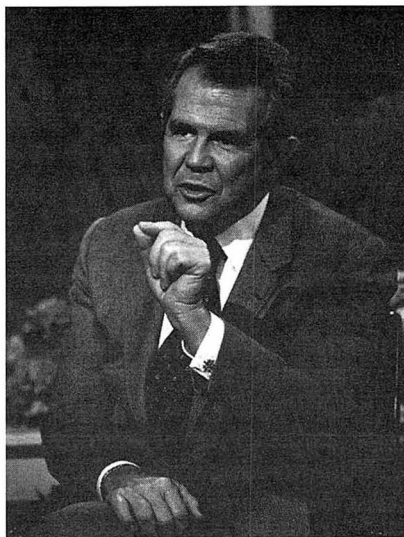
Even Bob Minzesheimer in *USA Today* (the Forrest Gump of American newspapers) picked up on the *Partisan* connection, and, after writing about the Southern League's advocacy of "a second Southern secession," also noted: "Buchanan is listed as an adviser to *Southern Partisan*, a pro-secessionist magazine."

That statement was simply and demonstrably untrue.

The *Partisan* has never advocated a second secession. As a matter of fact, the only lengthy discussion of the secession issue was in a "Trivium" column, which listed several major objections to serious consideration of any such proposal.

Incidentally, Buchanan is not a member of the Southern League, an organization founded and run, for the most part, by college professors. The best *USA Today* could do in the way of a connection was to point out that "a Buchanan friend," Thomas Fleming, was one of the founders of the organization.

This constant barrage of relentless slander over a period of ten days was devastating to Pat Buchanan's reputation, both in the South and outside the region. Southerners—who should have known better than



Pat Robertson's [l] Christian Coalition, led by Ralph Reed [r], joined the game of secular presidential politics in 1996. This set up the "Thermopylae" in South Carolina.

any group of Americans the dishonesty of the national media and their power to manipulate perception and mold opinion — swallowed the bait and were reeled in on March 2nd and March 5th.

In retrospect it's obvious that the ten-day blitzkrieg was unprecedented in American history. Never had one politician been slandered so often by so many in such a short time. Instead of allowing Buchanan and his competitors to carry on a legitimate debate while reporters stood aside and chronicled the ebb and flow, the media felt compelled to intervene on behalf of one candidate, to obfuscate the discussion over social legislation and international trade policy by a babble of invective that overrode the sensibilities and reason of the American people in general and Southerners in particular.

In the end, those who weren't horrified or filled with glee by the organized character assassination could only shake their heads in wonder at the hideous strength of an amoral press. The price of freedom is the potential for such unprincipled abuse, but it is always breathtaking to see people misuse power so openly and proudly in the service of ideology. It is also disconcerting to think that Southerners fell into lock-step more easily than people from other regions. We should all be ashamed.

2. *The Christian Coalition was able to deliver a large percentage of its constituency to Bob Dole, despite the fact that Buchanan's stand on the social issues was closer to the view of evangelical Christians than any other candidate.*

Many observers believed Buchanan would run a stronger race in the South because they doubted Dole supporter Ralph Reed could deliver the Christian

Coalition membership in the primaries. As a matter of fact, he did just that all over the region.

South Carolina set the pace. It was the Thermopylae of the 1996 presidential campaign. If Buchanan wins South Carolina, he fights Dole all the way to the convention. If he loses, the rest of the South falls in line.

Long before the South Carolina primary on March 2, Reed was already committed to Bob Dole; and Christian Coalition members nationwide knew about that commitment. The head of the Coalition in South Carolina also jumped on the Dole bandwagon early and began beating a big bass drum like a veteran Salvation Army worker. Then Governor David Beasley—who had won election with the fervent and almost unanimous support of the Christian Coalition—came out and endorsed the Senator from Kansas. All three endorsements sent a strong message that Dole was the Coalition's candidate.

But Reed and his myrmidons didn't depend solely on endorsements. In Columbia, South Carolina during the final week of campaigning, Christian Coalition telephone banks invited members to attend a "rally for Bob Dole." When the audience arrived, they discovered that other candidates had also been invited; but headquarters had already programmed their perception of what was happening: This event was really staged for "our boy," the Coalition's candidate. All of these clever tricks by Mr. Reed and his cohorts paid off. According to CNN exit polls, 38% of voters who identified themselves as members of the "religious right" voted for Dole. It was this ability to split the Christian vote in South Carolina that gave Dole his landslide.

In order to understand why Ralph Reed (and Pat Robertson) chose Dole so early in the game, you have to look at the recent history of Reed and the Christian Coalition, a history which gets more and more curious the more you examine it. For someone who has claimed to represent the followers of Christ (the somewhat presumptuous name of the organization carries that implication), Reed was disturbingly concerned with Mammon. In an article appearing in the *Policy Review*—published by the Heritage Foundation, a Republican-oriented think tank—Reed tried to interest his followers in Mammon as well.

"Values are important to voters," he told his readers in an avuncular tone, "but values alone are not enough. The successful candidate or movement must promote policies that personally benefit voters—such as tax cuts, education vouchers, higher wages, or retirement benefits."

As for the moral questions, he dismissed them in an odd and almost cynical wave of the hand: "The issues of abortion and gay rights have been important in attracting activists and building coalitions." However, he said, "the cluster of pro-family issues must now be expanded to attract a majority of voters."

Then he turned to holy scripture to make his point:

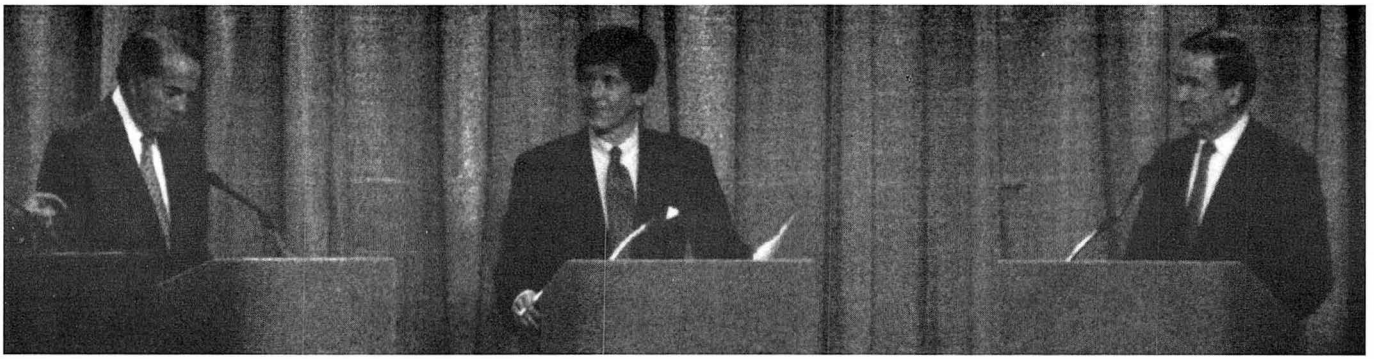
Network exit polls conducted in 1992 are instructive. Only 12 percent of voters indicated that abortion was a key issue in their voting decision. Even more startling, only 22 percent of self-identified, born-again evangelicals—about 24 percent of the total electorate—listed abortion as an important voting issue. And only 16 percent of all voters listed family values as one of the most important issues in their voting behavior.

Now there was nothing wrong with stressing economic issues if you were a fiscal conservative from the Heritage Foundation or the Cato Institute. But a number of fellow Christians asked pointedly, "Why should the 'Christian' Coalition also stress money matters and let the moral issues go begging? And why back Bob Dole? The mainstream Republican Party already has a whole army of commentators and politicians devoted to nothing else. If pro-family groups don't stress these issues, who else will?"

Yet here was Reed already leading evangelical conservatives away from the very issues that had clear Biblical resonance—away from Buchanan, toward Dole. In the *Policy Review* article, his followers heard the first sweet notes trilled by the Pied Piper, who announced to Christian activists that he would give them the kingdoms of this world if they'd start thinking and talking about money. And in a 1993 interview, he said, "You'll continue to see the abortion issue out there as an important fight on things like the Hyde amendment, health care, Freedom of Choice Act, various state-restrictive laws being adopted around the country. But the pro-family movement is going to be focusing on pocketbook issues."

The following year, Reed published his *Contract with the American Family*—"ten suggestions," as he put it, to supplement Newt Gingrich's *Contract with America*. To the surprise of many, Reed's contract was indeed a very modest proposal, one that avoided upsetting the "moderate" elements in the GOP and gave them official permission to ignore the deepest concerns of evangelical Christians. Among other things, Reed's "ten suggestions" (1) extended legal protection to unborn children only in the latter months of pregnancy; and (2) avoided completely the issue of homosexuals in the military and federal funding of gay rights groups and projects.

The "suggestion" on abortion was particularly disturbing to many since most pro-family Christians held the highly logical position that life begins at conception and therefore strongly rejected the compromise that somehow only in late pregnancy does the unborn child become fully human. In his *Contract*, Reed and the Christian Coalition seemed to be saying that the relativistic approach of pro-abortionists had



The buzz in Washington was that in return for betraying Buchanan, Ralph Reed would become a part of the Dole inner circle. The next week Dole told the press, "I don't work for Ralph Reed."

been right after all.

As for homosexuality, at the very least, many religious conservatives expected the Christian Coalition to call for an end to federal funding of pro-homosexual organizations and activities—a position that an overwhelming majority of Americans had perennially supported. Yet he didn't target the gay rights movement, whose activists were swarming all over Washington that year, parading naked, waving anti-religious signs, and chanting slogans proclaiming that Jesus performed unnatural sex acts.

When challenged, Reed said that his *Contract* was designed to avoid doing to the GOP Congress what unions, feminists, and gay rights organizations did to Bill Clinton when he took office. But if Clinton was hurt by his pro-abortion, pro-gay stance, Reed's critics asked, then why wouldn't Republicans be helped by an opposite stance on these issues, particularly one that called for the withdrawal of federal funding for the promotion of homosexuality?

At this stage, Reed seemed to many to be playing the Cowardly Lion, who, you may recall, had the power to be king of the jungle, yet was afraid of his own tail. What seemed to frighten Reed was the opinion polls, those oracles of the political gods; but at some point you had to ask: "If 60 percent of the people were in favor of crucifying Christ, would the Christian Coalition drop its protest to avoid putting undue pressure on Pontius Pilate?"

At this point, Ralph Reed's message to the Republican Party was clear: "Don't worry about us Christians in 1996. We're not going to insist that you pay attention to the moral issues. Here's my personal get-out-of-jail-free card on abortion and gay rights. Forget about them. Talk about money, and we'll back you all the way."

Such talk was music to Bob Dole's ears. He had made a career out of avoiding tough votes on the social issues. So as President would he pay back the folks who helped him win in South Carolina and on Super Tuesday? A lot of folks thought he would. Members of the Christian Coalition all over the country kept saying, "If Dole is elected, he'll owe Ralph

Reed big."

Objectively considered, the statement was obviously true. Reed made a major contribution to Dole's victories in the South by convincing his constituency, against all reason, to support Dole over Pat Buchanan. On the other hand, however big a debt Dole might owe, Reed had already, in effect, announced that he wouldn't expect payment in the currency of social legislation.

Ralph Reed didn't have to wait until Dole was elected to gauge the measure of the Senator's gratitude. When, following New Hampshire, Dole began to attack Buchanan and his followers as "extremists," Reed realized he was talking about political opinions held by many, if not most, Christian Coalition members — abortion, gay rights, prayer in schools. Panicked, he told reporters Dole shouldn't engage in such attacks. Dole's response was curt and unequivocal.

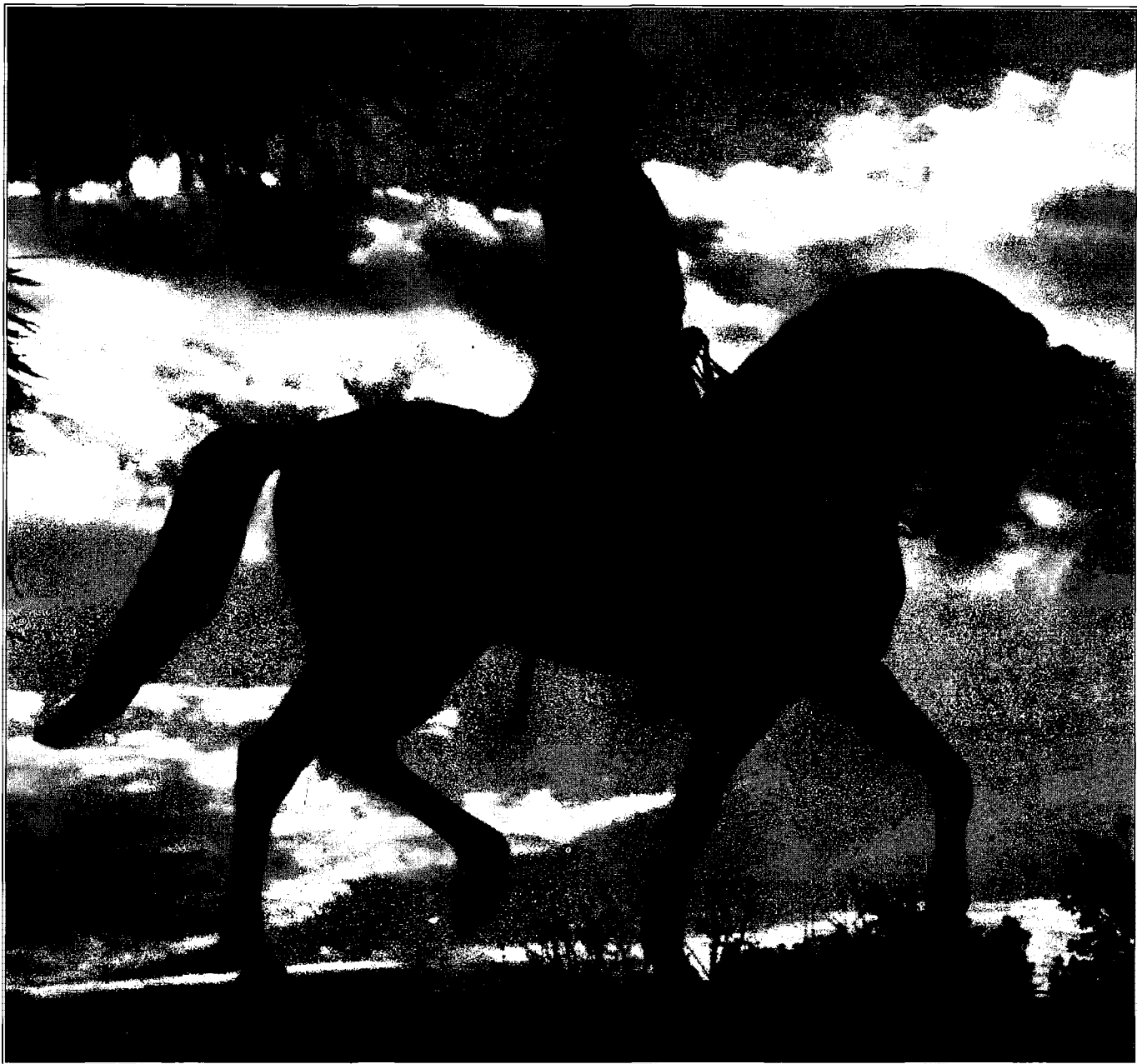
"I don't work for Ralph Reed," he barked to the press.

Instead of rhetorically grabbing the Senator by his lapels and giving him a hard shake or two, Reed disappeared under the house like an old dog who's just knocked over the garbage can. And many people believe that's the way it will be if Dole is elected. Like Falwell and Robertson before him, Reed will get nothing for his constituency; and at that point, he won't even have the satisfaction of having fought for what was right and just and true.

In the 1920s, back in the days when weather was regarded as providential rather than predictable, a hurricane passed over South Florida and—after Miami-ans had unboarded their windows and ventured outdoors—the storm kicked in reverse, backed over the unsuspecting population, and claimed more American lives than any hurricane in history. With this precedent on mind, the Republican National Committee had better keep its eye on the eastern horizon. Hurricane Pat may not have spent its force.

☆

Tom Landess is Associate Editor of Southern Partisan.



Peerless Warrior: General Wade Hampton III

by Jim McCafferty

Every time young Wade passed the duck pond, it happened: the great gray goose, wings outstretched, hissing with the voice of hell, would rush him. Each time, the little lad, hardly bigger than the aggressive old gander, would reluctantly retreat, not so much from fear as from prudence. He simply was no match for his feathered adversary. But that would change.

By one of those quirks of fate that wins wars and elections, little Wade came into possession of a toy tin sword. He ceremoniously strapped it to his waist and strode boldly toward the duck pond. Predictably, his nemesis appeared once more. This time, though, the hiss had hardly passed the bully's beak when the unsheathed blade of Wade Hampton III came down upon his head and neck in blows that knew neither

mercy nor quarter. Again and again the blade fell until the old gray goose lay dead, and Wade Hampton III had won the first of many battles.

If ever a man was meant for combat, it was Wade Hampton III. He certainly came from a martial family. Born in South Carolina in 1818, he was the namesake and grandson of General Wade Hampton, hero of the American Revolution and of the War of 1812. His father, Col. Wade Hampton II, while yet a college student, had served as an aide to Andrew Jackson during the War of 1812. But Wade III's military aptitude sprang from more than mere environmental factors. At an even six feet, he was not an especially tall man, but with his wide shoulders, broad, deep chest, and trunk-like legs, he had the commanding presence of a giant. His apparent strength was no illusion. He could, some said, squeeze a horse with his thighs until the animal groaned with pain; a hunting partner once saw him, unassisted, lift a four hundred-pound black bear onto the back of a mule. A more natural warrior never lived.

But from Wade Hampton III's youth through the prime of his manhood, there were no battles to fight. He took a degree from South Carolina College, married two years later, and studied law. Though he was admitted to the bar, he never practiced law, but turned his attention to the duties of a planter's son.

The Hamptons held land throughout the South, but Wade's primary responsibility was for the family's plantations near Lake Washington, just south of the present day city of Greenville, Mississippi. Typically, Wade and his younger brother, Kit, were in residence on the Mississippi property from fall through early spring, arriving in time to supervise the harvest and leaving shortly after the planting had been done in early April.

Some have suggested that Wade III was a haughty aristocrat. Perhaps that was true when he was among South Carolina blue bloods. But in the Mississippi wilderness, as one of Hampton's guests noted, he was the "exemplification of [the] hospitable characteristics" of the old Southern planter class. Indeed, Wade III's home on Lake Washington—which was more hunting lodge than planter's mansion—was usually filled with guests, many of whom had come to hunt the bountiful game of the Mississippi Delta country—particular the Delta's black bear.

Bear hunting, as it was practiced in Mississippi, was not a sport for the faint hearted. Hunters followed packs of bear hounds through the jungle-like Delta forests at break-neck speeds. The pursuit alone could kill a man. Wade III, a consummate horseman, excelled at the chase, prompting Theodore Roosevelt, who greatly admired Hampton's sporting prowess, to call him "with horse and hound the mightiest hunter America has ever

seen."

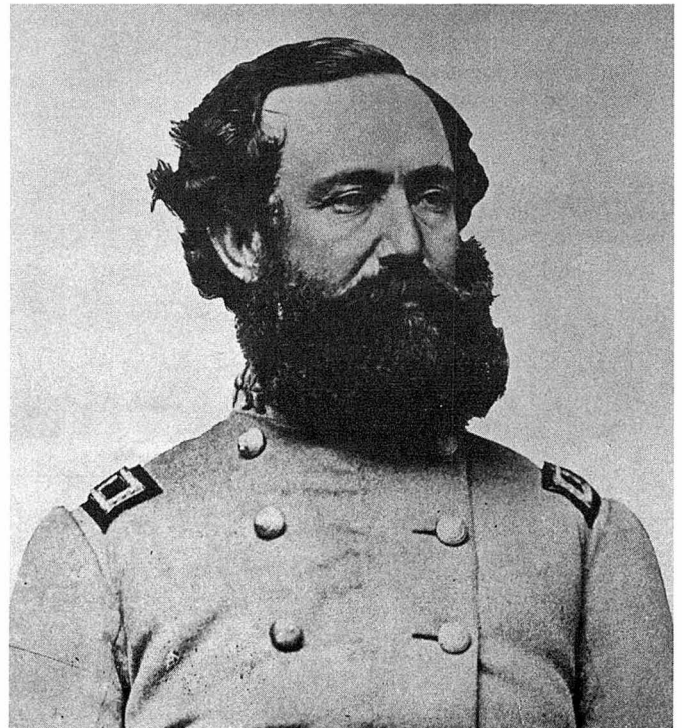
But there was more danger to bear hunting Hampton-style than the possibility of falling from a horse, as one 19th century writer who used the pen name, Graybeard, learned after Wade III invited him on a Mississippi bear hunt in 1856. Not long into the hunt, Hampton wounded a big male bear. The pack hot on his heels, the old bear plowed into a cane-brake, right toward the spot Graybeard occupied. Graybeard raised his rifle and fired, missing the bear at a distance of a few yards. Gun empty, he turned and fled. The bear hesitated, took a few swats at the pack, and struck out after the fleeing hunter. Fortunately, Hampton, the peerless hunter, was close at hand. With one push of his powerful arm, Hampton shoved his frightened visitor far back into the cane. "Don't move an inch," he ordered.

Hampton, in the direct path of the charging bruin, dropped to one knee and fired the first barrel of his big .72 cal. Westley-Richards double rifle. Still the beast came. Wade III prepared to loose the second ball, but as he pulled the trigger, a shoot of cane sprang from beneath his boot, knocking his shot awry.

"In the twinkling of an eye," recalled Graybeard, Hampton "was on the ground; struck down by the forepaw of the enraged brute."

While his pack of dogs did their best to distract the bruin, Hampton, unsheathed his hunting knife and buried it in the great beast's heart. The shaggy body collapsed.

In a moment, recalled the amazed narrator,



Wade Hampton as Confederate General.

“...many insisted that he was the strongest man to wear the gray. Certainly, he was among the most fearless and the most dangerous. He was an instinct shooter with a pistol, and his proficiency with a sidearm was such that Samuel Colt not only listened to his suggestions for improving the Colt revolver, he incorporated them into the pistol’s design...”

Hampton crawled from beneath the dead bear, “recovered his feet without a scratch, gathered his gun, wiped the bloody knife in the dark fur; [and] sheathed it in an every-day sort of fashion.”

Apparently Graybeard’s adventure was not an unusual occurrence in the life of Wade Hampton. According to Teddy Roosevelt, Hampton, in his bear hunting, “frequently used the knife, slaying thirty or forty with this weapon.” Other sources put the number closer to 80.

Despite the demands of overseeing 10,000 acres and over 900 slaves in Mississippi—not to mention knifing the occasional bear—Hampton found time to become a leader back in South Carolina, serving both in that state’s legislature and in a Palmetto State militia group.

It was inevitable that a man like Hampton must go to battle, and in 1861, the inevitable war finally came. Hampton was in it from the start, serving with Captain A. R. Taylor’s Congaree mounted rifles at the shelling of Fort Sumter. From there, he returned to Columbia and organized Hampton’s Legion, a thousand-man unit composed of the most elite infantry, cavalry, and artillery the South could muster. As its Colonel, Wade Hampton III rode into battle at First Manassas.

At 43, Hampton must have been, by any standard,

past his prime, even at the beginning of the War. Still, many insisted that he was the strongest man to wear the gray. Certainly, he was among the most fearless and the most dangerous. He was an instinct shooter with a pistol, and his proficiency with a sidearm was such that Samuel Colt not only listened to his suggestions for improving the Colt revolver, he incorporated them into the pistol’s design. The scion of the first family of the Southern turf, he was also a horseman of the highest order.

Unlike many of the Confederacy’s ranking officers, Hampton was not a West Point man, nor had he been a professional soldier. Still, he demonstrated remarkable leadership and strategic abilities that did not go unnoticed by his superiors in the Army of Northern Virginia. In the fall of 1862, he was elevated to General of the First Brigade of Lee’s Cavalry. In that capacity, he issued a call for horsemen. “We need,” he said, “Southern hothead dash, reckless gallantry, spirit of adventure, [and] readiness to lead forlorn hopes.”

Hampton embodied all those traits. Indeed, even at that early stage of the war, the brash South Carolinian had already had a horse shot out from under him and had been wounded twice, once in the hip by canister shot, and once in the foot by a rifle ball.

A general of Hampton’s caliber attracted the highest quality trooper, and Hampton’s brigade became famous for its daring—and wildly successful—raids behind enemy lines. A September, 1862, hit and run foray into Maryland netted Hampton 100 horses and 30 union officers. Later that fall, Wade III and his men captured 300 enemy soldiers, 300 pairs of extra boots, three dozen wagons, 100 mounts, an assortment of food and northern Christmas presents. Hampton toasted his victory with champagne taken from the personal stock of federal General Burnside.

Hampton, reared with the *code duello* of the old South, seemed to turn almost every battle into an occasion for one to one combat. And though his adversary sometimes sought an advantage over him, Hampton always fought like a gentleman. During the Gettysburg campaign, for instance, Wade III, while riding at the front of his column, heard the low whine of a ricocheting bullet. Hampton instantly spied the source of the assault, a young Michigan cavalryman perched on a tree stump near the edge of some timber a couple of hundred yards away. As the sniper reloaded, Wade III approached to within 125 yards of the soldier, unholstered his Colt revolver, and fired twice before the Yankee could shoulder his weapon. But the distance proved too great for accurate shooting with a revolver, and Hampton missed.

Almost immediately the Wolverine cavalryman fired again, his bullet creasing the shirt that covered Hampton’s great chest. Hampton was steadying his arm for another shot when the young Yankee, unable

to start the third ball in his powder-fouled muzzle, innocently raised his arm, as if calling "time" in a sporting contest. Hampton, with an instinctive gallantry, raised his pistol skyward until the boy cleaned and reloaded his rifle. When the next round of shots rang out, Hampton's pistol ball found the Michigan soldier's wrist, ending, at least temporarily, his sniping career.

But Michigan was not finished with Wade Hampton. As the General turned his horse to return to his troops, a Wolverine lieutenant charged from the woods, fetching the general a wicked saber blow to the back of the head before Hampton could even turn to see his assailant. Dazed but undaunted, Hampton wheeled in his saddle, drew his Colt, and spurred his mount toward his attacker. Pistol barrel in the Yankee's face, Hampton pulled the trigger—dead cap! He levered up another chamber, and, again, misfire! The thoroughly frightened junior officer, terrified by such a fierce, powerful enemy, turned his horse and fled, Hampton hot on his heels, steadily snapping an unfiring gun. Finally, in disgust, he threw the worthless Colt at the highailing Yankee and returned to his men. Little wonder his troops considered him the luckiest man alive.

The next day, though, Hampton must have thought himself something less than fortunate. During a charge against George Custer's bluecoat cavalry, Wade III found himself momentarily cut off from his troops, with a squad of Yankee horsemen pressing him closely. Hampton out-sabered the first man to reach him, and, at least briefly, fended off the others with his revolver. Two mounted Mississippi privates dashed in to lend assistance, but were cut down by Yankee steel. Alone, his horse backed against a rail fence, Hampton fought first two, then three, then four Union swordsmen. He shot one from the saddle with his pistol, and with a mighty sweep of his sword arm, split the head of one hapless horseman from crown to collar.

But more northern riders were approaching; even Wade Hampton could not withstand such odds. For

the second time in two days, he was struck in the head by a saber, this second wound far more vicious than the first. Seeing Hampton's dire predicament, a North Carolina sergeant interposed himself between Hampton and his tormenters long enough for the general to spur Butler, his battle horse, over the rail fence and back to Confederate territory. But even as Hampton fled, a chunk of shrapnel buried itself into his thigh.

With a wicked skull fracture and a frightening amount of blood lost, Hampton, at first, seemed to the doctors a dead man. Hampton, though, did not dwell on his wounds other than to express mock embarrassment at his predicament. "Don't you feel mortified," he wrote to his sister while convalescing, "that any Yankee should be able, on horse back, to split my head open? It shows how old [he was 45] I am growing and how worthless."

After a period of recuperation in Columbia, Hampton was back in Northern Virginia. Despite his considerable duties (he'd been promoted to major general following Gettysburg), he still found time for hunting. "I ought to supply the market [in Richmond] with par-

tridges," he wrote to his sister, Mary Fisher Hampton, on Valentine's Day, 1864, "as our list now has gone up to 574 killed."

But it would take more than a few hundred quail and grouse to fill the aching, empty bellies of the troops of the Army of Northern Virginia. Almost four years of fighting the seemingly inexhaustible Union resources had left them threadbare, battle-weary,



Wade Hampton as "Redeemer" Governor.

***Yet, placing duty above all
else, General Hampton
kissed his dying son and
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knowing the fate of Wade IV.***

and, more than anything, hungry. Things had gotten so bad for the Confederates, in fact, that a scrap of bacon or fatback comprised the daily meat ration—when there was a daily meat ration. Hampton, promoted to Lieutenant General over Lee's entire cavalry corps following J. E. B. Stuart's death at Yellow Tavern, must have felt a special responsibility for his army's deprivation—particularly since the Union troops, just beyond Confederate lines near Petersburg, Virginia, had their own private herd of Texas longhorns—close to 3,000 of them according to the best Confederate intelligence. It was more than Wade Hampton could endure.

The cattle were corralled at Sycamore Church, on a well-protected area between the James and Blackwater Rivers, under the watchful eye of Major Stannard Baker's 1st District Cavalry. Division commander General Augustus Kautz feared some sort of Confederate shenanigans, and had warned Baker to be on special alert.

Baker had burned the bridge across the Blackwater some time before. A Confederate attack, by necessity, would come by way of an unsecured plank-road bridge across the James. Kautz spread his division along the James and the plank road, as thin as he dared stretch it.

But it was to no avail. During the first dark hour of September 16, 1864, Wade Hampton's cavalry crossed the Blackwater into Union-occupied territory, right under the very nose of Kautz. At dawn, they fell upon the Yankee cattle like wolves upon the fold, not only making off with over 2,400 longhorns, but forcing the Union-hired cowboys tending the beasts to help drive them back to Confederate lines. An embarrassed Kautz estimated Hampton's forces at 14,000. Others said 25,000. The actual number was 2,000.

Any pleasure Hampton derived from his cattle raid, however, was short-lived. Not long afterwards, Wade III and two of his sons, Preston, 21, and Wade IV, 24, were part of a Confederate force that engaged Union troops near Burgess Mill, Virginia. As he cheered his charging comrades toward the Yankee lines, Preston was shot from his horse. His older brother rushed to his side, and he, too, was hit, even as he bent to render aid. Wade III arrived to find Preston obviously dying, and Wade IV in grave condition. Yet, placing duty above all else,

General Hampton kissed his dying son and rode forward into battle, not knowing the fate of Wade IV. Young Wade survived, but by the spring of 1865, it was apparent that the Confederacy would not. General Hampton briefly, yet seriously, considered linking his remaining cavalry with the forces of Nathan Bedford Forrest in Mississippi and moving westward to make Texas his base for a continued guerilla war against the Union. But the great heart of Wade Hampton III was not built for bitterness. Urging reconciliation, he laid down his sword.

As a former Confederate, Hampton returned to his beloved South Carolina, disenfranchised in the very state where he had once sat as a legislator. Too, the war had utterly shattered the Hampton fortune, once the greatest in the South. The Hampton dignity, however, remained very much intact.

Hampton resumed his trips to Mississippi where he struggled to save his mortgage-ridden plantations from the sheriff's block. As hard as he tried, debt would follow him the rest of his life. But so would the

people of South Carolina. Once the restraints of Reconstruction ended in 1876, they enthusiastically elected him to the governorship and, later, the United States Senate, where his fairness and refusal to engage in regional factionalism made him one of the most respected senators in Washington.

Through all his trials and honors, Wade Hampton remained an outdoorsman, though in his later years, his preference seemed to run more to the rod than to the gun. He traveled to Oregon regularly for the salmon runs, and he's credited with

stocking the formerly troutless slopes of the North Carolina Appalachians, where he had a summer home, with brook trout, carried over the divide in buckets.

"He'll never be killed," wrote Civil War diarist Mary Chesnut of Wade Hampton III, the peerless warrior. Certainly no bullet or saber ever felled Wade Hampton III—only time could do that.

General Hampton died in 1902 at the age of 84. But, as John Esten Cooke put it in *The Wearing of the Gray*, "[T]he name and fame of Hampton will endure as long as loyalty and courage are respected by the human race." ☆

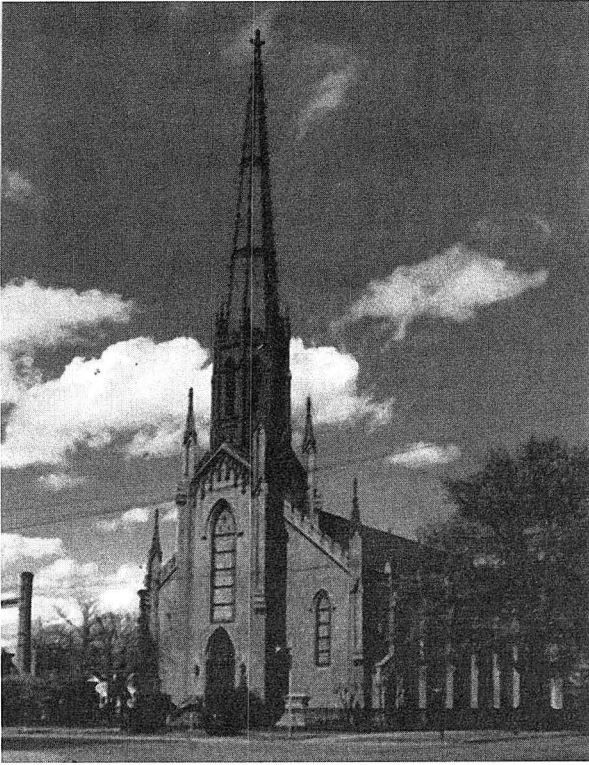
Jim McCafferty is an attorney and a freelance writer from Jackson, Mississippi.

***"...He'll never be killed...
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by the human race..."***

-Mary Boykin Chesnut

Christianity and Southern Civilization

by Mark G. Malvasi



By disposition and temper, Southerners as a people are neither inclined to extol the benefits of revolution nor succumb to the ravages of despair. Historically, Southerners have avoided these extremes by fashioning a civilization that was founded upon a deep reverence for tradition, an elemental piety toward nature, and an abiding faith in God. The stability and continuity that this civilization provided restrained the most destructive and sinful aspects of Southerners' human nature, and enabled them to stand fast against the confused and dangerous rush of modernity.

That the antebellum South was a Christian society, and that the South retains today something of that character, has become axiomatic, at least among those who study, admire, and embrace the Southern conservative tradition. Yet, the nature and implications of that commitment for an individual or a movement determined to vindicate and preserve the Southern way of life merit additional reflection and comment. We must, of course, address and try to solve the problems of the moment. But ultimate problems are with us always; they are the problems of every moment. The only hopeful course that modern civilization may take is to become Christian.

That prospect will doubtless involve a certain degree of anguish. But, as T. S. Elliot observed in *The Idea of a Christian Society*, "... here as hereafter the alternative to hell is purgatory."

In 1862, during the second year of the War Between the States and the last year of his life — he died from tuberculosis before the year was out — the Presbyterian theologian James Henley Thornwell of South Carolina prepared a pamphlet for circulation among Confederate troops. Later published in *DeBow's Review* as "Our Danger and Our Duty," Thornwell intended his essay to revive enthusiasm for the Southern cause. The debacle at Forts Henry and Donelson in February, the Confederate failure at Shiloh in early April, and Admiral David G. Farragut's capture of New Orleans in late April had, for the moment, drained Southern confidence.

Thornwell reminded his countrymen of what was at stake. Writing before Federal soldiers despoiled Fredericksburg, Virginia in December of 1862, and before plunder became the official wartime policy of the North, Thornwell anticipated that Southerners could expect no compassion or mercy from invading Union armies. The atrocities that the regiments of Louis XIV had committed in the Rhine Valley at the end of the seventeenth century, he argued, "may be a specimen of the appalling desolation which is likely to overspread the Confederate States, if the Northern army should succeed in its schemes of subjugation . . ." The dangers to which Thornwell called attention were all too real.

In his astute exposition of the conflict, Thornwell asserted that Northern victory would bring despotism while Southern victory would preserve liberty. The situation, in his view, was desperate. Northerners and Southerners alike had to succeed or perish. Both peoples knew that they were doomed if they were vanquished. Yet, although "the future fortunes of our children, and of this continent," hung in

the balance, Thornwell, as a Southerner and as a Christian, never assumed that a political and military answer to the crisis would be definitive.

Violence, he understood, would not regenerate or liberate humanity. It might render nations free in a political sense, and might thus be a useful and necessary tool. But the advantage that the Reverend Dr. Thornwell and, indeed, that General Robert E. Lee had over many of their Northern contemporaries—and perhaps over us—was that they knew a political and military victory would not create “New Men” and “New Women” poised to enter an earthly paradise.

The millennial sentiments and ambitions that penetrated the Southern imagination during the 1850s and 1860s were eventually recognized for what they were: sin. The constant awareness that humanity lives in a fallen world sets the South and Southerners apart from the rest of the nation. Of the many virtues that I have grown to admire about the South and its people, it is the conviction that sin is the lot of humanity that I find most valuable and, in a curious way, most comforting.

The intimate knowledge of human sinfulness restrains those who possess it, and makes them humble in their aspirations and expectations. It at last brings them back to themselves, and compels them to acknowledge their submissiveness to God. If we are to have some taste of salvation and the resurrection in this life, and if we are to experience actual salvation and resurrection in the next, we must begin with the recognition that we are sinful creatures living in a fallen world. It is, after all, only a delusion, as the Southern novelist Andrew Lytle had long maintained, to believe that we can live without God. Thornwell himself said as much when he wrote:

The cause is not ours but God's; and if we measure its importance only by its accidental relation to ourselves, we may be suffered to perish for our pride. No nation ever yet achieved anything great that it did not regard itself as the instrument of Providence. The only lasting inspiration of lofty patriotism and exalted courage is the inspiration of religion Man, though limited in space, limited in time, and limited in knowledge, is truly great, when he is linked to the Infinite, as the means of accomplishing lasting ends.

The men and women who are now armed to the teeth in the expectation of some apocalyptic resolution to the crisis of the present age may have the right instincts: to fight back. But they are lost in history. They have little or no consciousness of where we stand in relation to our political, intellectual, and religious heritage. They speak the language of conservatism and reaction. But for them change—violent, revolutionary change—is the principal fact of life and the principal objective of their endeavors. They have not yet decided what it is that they wish to conserve, or if they wish to conserve anything at all. And if they have made such determinations, they have

often chosen unwisely.

The quest for a constitutional amendment to ensure school prayer offers a case in point. Why should God-fearing Christians give the Federal government and its agents—especially the courts—the authority to determine what does and what does not constitute acceptable prayer under the Constitution? Why, indeed, should government be involved in deciding the issue of prayer at all? The original proponents of the separation of Church and State were concerned not only that the government institute no official creed, but also that the churches remain free from political influence and corruption. Ours is historically a Christian civilization, firmly rooted in the Judeo-Christian tradition. As such, when we pray, we honor our Christian God, who is not bound by the Constitution of the United States—at least not yet.

In their zeal to press their agenda, the Christian Right has given away its case to the enemy without a fight. They have decided that prayer is political, and is yet one more “right” that can be granted and protected by the government. They do not see that we no longer live in an age of free men and women, or even in an age of democracy in any meaningful sense, in which the legitimacy of government rested unwaveringly on the consent of the governed. We live instead in an age of bureaucracy—irresponsible, ineffective, yet nonetheless intrusive, oppressive, and powerful.

The application of governmental power to grant and protect the rights of individuals is almost never undertaken to grant or protect the rights of those in whose name government proclaims to act. It is almost always and everywhere undertaken to extend the powers of government itself. What the government giveth, the government can taketh away.

But prayer is not political speech. Politicians and judges should not, therefore, have the power to define or to control it. Prayer is beyond the province of government and law—or it should be. By empowering politicians and judges to determine the “constitutionality” of prayer, the Christian Right is defeated before the battle is engaged. We are thus fast approaching the absurd moment in history when Congress and the courts, appealing to the U. S. Constitution, can regulate our conversations with God.

The crisis that we face is primarily spiritual, not political. We lack a set of common beliefs. The religion of the modern world is “Progress.” That innovation, of course, as again Andrew Lytle noted, is satanic. The belief in “Progress” replaces God with man, the divine with the human, the eternal with the temporal. It takes as the end of life the quest for power in this world. The appeal to human progress, power, and perfection is an old delusion first pronounced in the Garden of Eden: *Sicut eritis dei*. You shall be as God.

Unless our religious, political, and intellectual

leaders can persuade men and women that they need common beliefs and a common heritage, and that both are worth cultivating and perpetuating, we are finished. No society can prosper, and historically, no society has survived for long, without them. For without common beliefs and a common heritage—a common civilization and a common faith—no common action is possible. Without common action, human beings might continue to exist, but they would cease to live in society, and consequently, they would sacrifice their humanity.

Human beings cannot do without dogma. Religious dogma is the most necessary and the most desirable of all—even if we take into consideration only the interests of this world. To reestablish the dogmas and to reinvigorate the spirit of Christianity must, therefore, be our first priority. Without such restoration, political action may bring different men and women to power, but it will bring no fundamental or salutary change.

There is no human action, however private it may be, that does not arise from an individual's conception of God, His relation to humanity, the nature of the soul, and the obligation toward fellow human beings. It is thus of immense importance that men and women have fixed ideas about God and human nature. It is of equal importance that those ideas be withdrawn from the realm of private judgment, and that they be clear, precise, intelligible, and, above all, durable.

For when religion is destroyed, as it is being destroyed in the United States at present even by those who profess to cherish it, doubt invades the mind and paralyzes it. People then have only confused and changing notions about matters of the utmost importance. In despair of solving the great problems of human destiny, men and women ignobly give up thinking about them, and, as a friend of mine tells me repeatedly, they begin "to enjoy [material] life, since that's all we have."

Such a condition enervates the soul and relaxes the will. It prepares a people for bondage. They will not only permit their freedom to be taken from them, they will hand it over themselves. When there is no authority in politics or religion, men and women are soon frightened by the limitless independence that they must endure. They may be comfortable, but they

are also restless, worn out with worry at the constant uncertainty of everything. They may be complacent, but they are also malcontent. They want at least the material order to be stable and secure, and if they cannot accept the ancient beliefs again, they will hand themselves over to a master. Writing on the eve of World War II, T. S. Eliot made this point admirably when he declared that "if you will not have God. . . you should pay your respects to Hitler and Stalin."

Complete political liberty and complete religious independence—or, alternately, a complete independence from religion—are incompatible. To put it succinctly, if men and women have no faith, they must obey. If men and women are free, and wish to retain their freedom, they must believe.

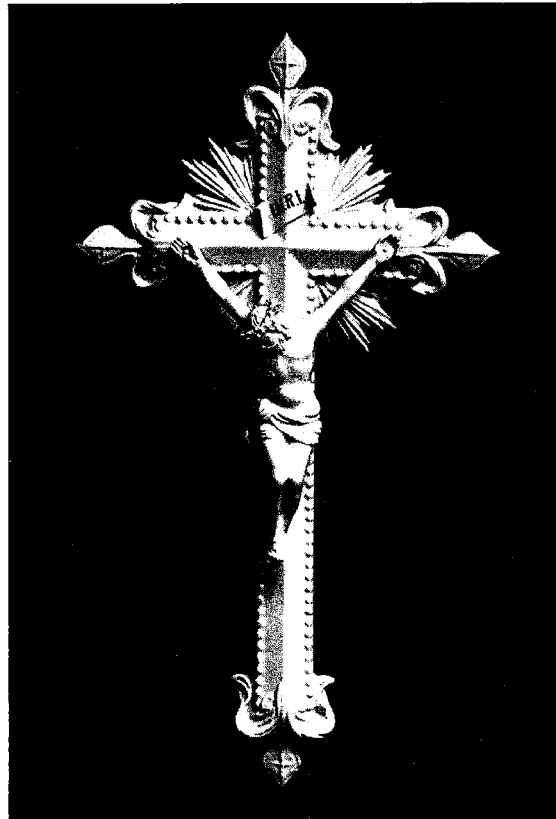
The men who followed Jimmy Kemper, Dick

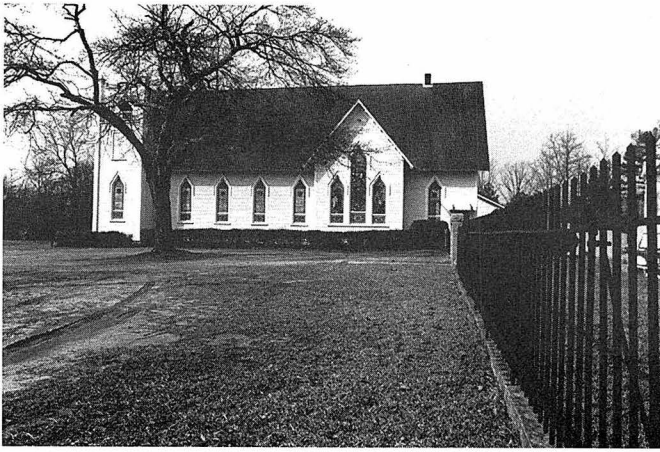
Garnett, Lewis Armistead, and Johnston Pettigrew across the mile and a quarter of open ground in the face of entrenched enemy artillery and infantry had faith in something besides themselves, something even more than the cause of Southern liberty for which they fought and died. They had to, or else they never would have made that charge. Those men, terrified as they must have been, had faith in God.

They attached themselves and their cause to something that transcended earthly life. History was meaningful to them only as it was the unfolding of Providence. In that conviction, General Lee was with his men as they charged, and with them in every battle that they fought. It was all in God's hands. The purpose and meaning of history, in that ultimate sense,

remained unfathomable and mysterious.

Like those brave soldiers, we are called to duty in our own time. If God calls us to heroic action and self-sacrifice, to martyrdom and perhaps to sainthood, then we must try to heed the call. But if He calls us only to bear witness to the unfolding of His will in a time of little faith, then we must accept that duty too. I do not counsel quietism or withdrawal from the world. There is too much work to be done. But we would do well to remember that we who are called to our labors are also implicated in sin, for all human activity, however well intentioned, contains some element of our sinful nature.





When we recoiled from the spiritual and embraced the material, we, unlike the men of Pickett's brigade, could no longer distinguish any higher human attainment than happiness of earth. The South truly was the last nonmaterialist, premodern, religious civilization, as Donald Davidson, Richard M. Weaver, M. E. Bradford, and others affirmed. Only premodern men, whose spirits were not yet given over to rational calculations of profit and loss, could have made that dreadful charge.

But at the end of the twentieth century, we suffer the consequences of an almost total emancipation from the moral heritage of Christianity. Two centuries of scientific and technological progress have made possible the unprecedented imposition of our will on nature: the containment or elimination of hunger and disease; the creation of life in the laboratory; the hastening or postponement of death; and the realization of virtually every other human desire. Most of us have attained a level of material comfort and security that our great-grandfathers, grandfathers, and perhaps even our fathers could never have contemplated. We have now raised at least two generations to believe that luxury, leisure, and unlimited freedom in the selection of pleasures is the epitome of the "good life." We have at last achieved the "rights of man."

To the extent that we have mastered nature and won our freedom, we have rejected religion. We now no longer feel compelled to beseech God, confident that we are gods unto ourselves. Yet, everywhere we witness the terrible consequences that follow when men and women, who no longer see the virtue of imitating Christ, arrogate to themselves the role of God. Having freed ourselves from the vagaries of nature and history, we have discovered that life in the modern world has a pitiless rigor of its own that, in the name of power, discipline, order, and efficiency, violates our fundamental sense of human dignity and importance. As a consequence, increasingly violent alternations between self-adulation and self-hatred, between hubris and hedonism, between a murderous arrogance and a numbing despair, have

come to distinguish the age.

All modern ideologies, whether of the right or of the left, have appealed to his sense of frustration and have vowed somehow to end it and to return us to our original innocence. None have made good on those promises. These failures have contributed to the general revolt against civilization and to the desire among many to embrace a life of perpetual irresponsibility and self-indulgence. The sixteenth-century French essayist Michel de Montaigne observed the dilemma that modern men and women would face more than 400 years ago, when it first emerged. To reconcile human aspirations with human prospects, and thus to preserve at least a measure of classical-Christian civilization in the West, Montaigne suggested that:

Greatness of soul is not so much pressing upward and forward as knowing how to set oneself in order and circumscribe oneself . . . There is nothing so beautiful and legitimate as to play the man well and properly, no knowledge so hard to acquire as the knowledge of how to live this life well and naturally; and the most barbarous of our maladies is to despise our being.

I will not pretend to optimism about our situation. It will not improve easily or soon. Nor do I feel even the sense of optimism that comes from the knowledge that we have seen the worst. But neither am I despairing nor resentful. Despair and resentment are not only sinful, they are also useless. Hope and trust in God, which is the foundation for hope and trust in humanity and history, seems the only appropriate response to our circumstances.

There is a theological distinction between optimism and hope that Reinhold Niebuhr identified as "the spiritual discipline against resentment." Optimism is an investment in the future. It cannot survive the inevitable disappointments and failures of this world. In the face of those disappointments and failures, optimism frequently becomes its opposite: cynicism, bitterness, desperation, and rancor. Hence the present mood throughout the nation.

Hope, on the contrary, is a religious attitude that is not tied to a vision of future success and triumph. We hope without reason, even as events in this world suggest that hope is unwarranted or unwise. It is important at the present moment, when so many of our fellow citizens feel themselves hedged in by insecurity, weakness, and fear, not to let hope grow dim. For now, more than ever, we must try to elevate the souls of all Americans, not to complete their prostration. ☆

Mark Malvasi is a professor of history at Randolph-Macon College. The author is pleased to acknowledge a generous summer research fellowship from the Earhart Foundation that aided in completion of this essay.

Samuel Francis

The Foundation Endowment



Sam Francis, a Tennessean, is a syndicated columnist, being featured twice weekly in over 50 newspapers and periodicals nationwide. Before assuming his duties earlier this year with the Foundation Endowment in Alexandria, Virginia, Dr. Francis held a number of important posts in Washington over the past decade, including editorial writer with the Washington Times and staff member to the late Senator John P. East (R-NC).

Southern Partisan: In 1981, you were among the fifteen prominent Southerners who authored Why the South Will Survive. Are you still confident that it will?

Francis: I have never been confident the South would survive. All you have to do is walk through the Atlanta airport to see what has happened to it. It's all very well to talk about persisting cornbread recipes and a few local areas that are still recognizably Southern, but in much or most of the South typically Southern norms and ways of thinking are dying. The South is the victim of the same forces of homogenization and levelling as the rest of the country and the rest of the world. But there are still some in the South who at least see what's going on and understand that something is being lost.

Southern Partisan: At that time you wrote: "American foreign policy is undergoing a crisis. Indecision and lack of direction seem apparent in the formulation and execution of our relations with the world." Did Ronald Reagan and George Bush substantially change that picture? What of our current leadership?

Francis: The essay on the South and foreign policy was written during the Cold War and the Carter administration, so it's just a bit dated today. But yes, Reagan and Bush were both much stronger leaders in foreign policy than their predecessors. I have no problem with Reagan's foreign policy on the whole, but he did show a tendency to boost "global democracy" rather than the national interest as the central goal of foreign policy. Under Bush and Clinton, this kind of rhetoric has caught up with us. The whole concept of *national interest* is now virtually extinct or meaningless; everything we do abroad must now be couched in universalist globalist terms, and if globalist rationales seem to justify it, then we must do it. The country will pay a bitter price for this, not only in terms of unneces-

sary wars and foreign commitments, but also in the loss of national sovereignty that it will involve.

Southern Partisan: *You have written that the "Old Republic for which conservatives have fought cannot be restored today because few Americans even remember it, let alone want it back, and even a realistic description of it would frighten and alienate most citizens." With so many people claiming to embrace it, why do you believe the conservative cause is lost?*

Francis: I have noticed so many people embracing the concept of the Old Republic. There is a revival of Old Republican ideas on the serious right—at *Southern Partisan*, the Ludwig von Mises Institute and its associates, the John Randolph Club, *Chronicles*, and a few other places. But in general most on the "right" today babble on about "democracy" and "human rights," and their idea of reducing the size of government is confined to block grants. The test of whether conservatives are serious about restoring *real* federalism is not the casual knee-bends to the 10th Amendment that are now fashionable but rather reversing the power of the courts—especially, reversing the Incorporation Doctrine and kicking the courts out of controlling local and state governments. But I know of no one in Congress who even considers this, and most of them literally don't seem to understand the concept.

Southern Partisan: *Was the "Reagan Revolution" a net gain or net loss for conservatives?*

Francis: There was no "Reagan Revolution." Reagan expanded the size of the federal government, failed to abolish Cabinet departments as he had promised, and helped corrupt conservatism by injecting the rhetoric and values of the left into its language. Reagan was a decent enough chap, but frankly he was too old and too old-fashioned to come to grips with the country's dominant political forces. Even granting that he "won the Cold War" (and I'm not convinced he did) he left no legacy behind him to which conservatives can appeal. That's why the '96 Republican race was so confused between Gramm, Buchanan, Dole, Keyes, Dornan, *et al.* If Reagan had left a clear legacy, there would be a much clearer vision as to who should be his heir and what the legacy should be.

Southern Partisan: *What changes would be required in your view, to make possible a genuine restoration of the "Old Republic?"*

Francis: First, Americans have to understand what a *republic* is, that it's not the same thing as a

democracy. A republic is essentially a form of government in which people govern themselves—not just periodic voting but by actually taking part in government at all levels all the time and also (and even more importantly) by governing themselves in a private, non-political sense. A republic is not an easy form of government to maintain, as the Founders knew. It requires immense self-discipline (not *liberty* in the modern sense), constant and continuous attention and involvement in public affairs, a high enough level of education that citizens can understand and take part in public affairs intelligently, and—most of all—*independence*.

Independence means being in a position to take responsibility for yourself and your family and your livelihood—supporting yourself, defending yourself, controlling yourself, governing yourself. Today, not only have most Americans forgotten what this means; they wouldn't want to do it if they were given the chance. Also, independence in this social and economic sense, which is the necessary foundation of a self-governing republic, is virtually gone. Today, we work for other people, we depend on other people for our entertainment and education, we depend on the government for public safety as well as economic and social benefits. Instead of the active life that is the basis of republican government, today we are a passive people that does what it is told, even to the point of laughing when we are told in the TV sit-coms.

Southern Partisan: *What impact will our current immigration policy have on our politics and culture in the near and long-term future?*

Francis: The immigration issue woke up in the Prop. 187 movement in 1994 in California, and now it's beginning to take off in other parts of the country too. In the future, I'm convinced it will be far more important than it has been. In the first place, it's clear the Republicans and mainstream conservatives don't want to touch it, and except for piecemeal legislative measures, they will refuse to solve it. In the second place, as the Census Bureau has reported, by the middle of the next century the United States will no longer be a majority white nation. Whatever you think of that, it's going to be a profound change, and one that most white (and for that matter many Black, Asian, and Hispanic) Americans won't like and don't want. Right now the impact of uncontrolled immigration is confined to a few large states, but that will change in the near future as the results begin to be clear to more and more Americans.

If immigration is not controlled, I firmly believe we could see a Bosnian situation in this country by early in the next century. If it came to that, I think the Old American stock would probably win, but

why should we let it go that far? Why not stop immigration now?

Southern Partisan: *You have suggested that a major cause of the failure of the Old Right was its “abstruse intellectualism,” yet, some of your colleagues, Paul Gottfried, for example, argue that the Old Right was not interested enough in the academy and the battle of ideas. Is there a fundamental disagreement here?*

Francis: Paul Gottfried is a great friend, and there’s no one on the right I respect more, but in this case, we may be talking about different things. I think conservative intellectualism in the 1950s and 1960s was most impressive, but it tended to lose touch with political and social reality in many of its major theoretical concerns. Those concerns were important in their own right, but they had very little to do with political issues of the day, and the result was that conservative intellectualism wound up with very little to say to conservative activists. Many of the activists wound up with quite shallow philosophical convictions and proved to be easy prey for the neo-conservative take over. I believe conservative intellectuals of that era should have given far more attention to social and cultural issues and to history than they did and should not have wrapped themselves up so much in metaphysical and literary pursuits. Moreover, I don’t think an intellectual right confined to academic circles is at all healthy. The ideas and principles of the right have to be part of a living culture, or they cease to have any meaning for the citizens and public leaders. By retreating into the academy, conservative intellectuals helped ensure that their ideas would lose relevance and cease to be understood.

Southern Partisan: *John East, M.E. Bradford, Willmoore Kendall, and Russell Kirk, among others were engaged in the political life of their times while contributing to serious political thought. Would you call them “beautiful losers?” Why?*

Francis: Except for Kendall, whom I never knew, all these men were friends whose ideas and memories I respect deeply. But yes, they were beautiful losers too—beautiful, because their ideas and characters shone so brilliantly; losers because—for one reason or another, and not due to any fault of their own—the age had passed them by.

Southern Partisan: *Your family roots are in Tennessee are they not? Were you raised with a sense of Southern identity?*

Francis: My family, on my mother’s side, has

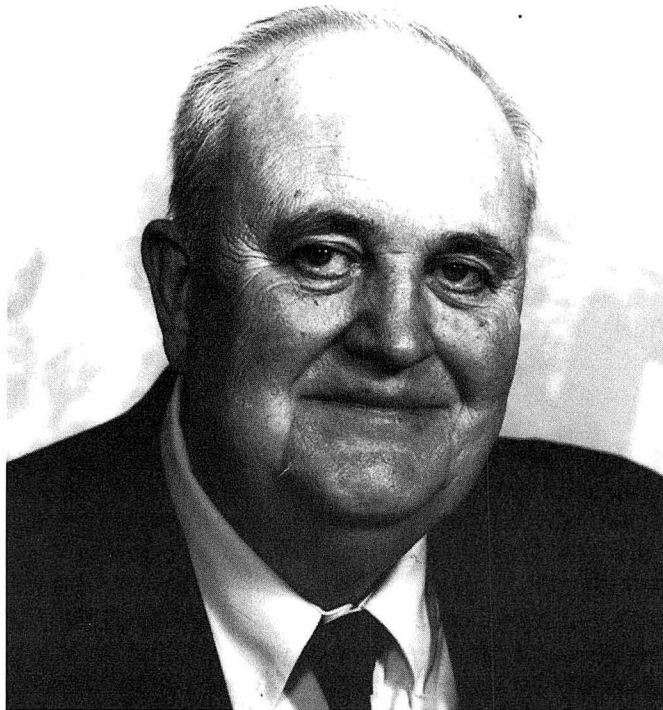
been in eastern Tennessee since early in the 19th century. Before that, they were in North Carolina and Virginia. As a child, I lived in my grandparent’s house, and my grandmother kept a portrait of her father, John Columbus Cate, in the front hall, with an American flag and a Confederate Battle Flag over it. Cate served at Vicksburg and was paroled after the battle. My grandmother raised me on stories about the war, the Yankees, the slaves they owned, and what her family did in the war and afterwards.

With all that, I have to say that I’m a Border State Southerner, and my enthusiasm for secession and the war is tempered by that. I believe it was a mistake for the South to go to war when and how it did, because there was little prospect of winning the war as the South chose to fight it and the results of losing were so disastrous for the South and the rest of the country.

Southern Partisan: *You have made a particular study of the thought of James Burnham, a man who, for all his perceptive criticism of the left, remained aloof from the conservative movement. Has Burnham influenced your own critique of conservatism?*

Francis: Burnham has been probably the major contemporary influence on me. Mainly what I learned from him was how to think concretely about political conflict—to identify the conflicting forces, what drives them and how they conduct the conflict to win or lose, and to ignore a good deal of the frippery that those in conflict wrap themselves in. His theory of the managerial revolution, though flawed as he originally formulated it, is still the best analysis of what happened to this country in the course of the past century. In that theory, the forces we know as “liberalism” are essentially a new ruling class or elite using the federal state and big business to lock themselves in power. They can’t do that unless they first break down the culture, economy, social and constitutional restrictions of the old society, the defenders of which essentially constitute “conservatism.” That social-political struggle between a new, liberal, centralizing, managerial elite on the one hand and an old, conservative, localized elite and its supporters on the other, are basically the conflicting forces in the long struggle between right and left in this country.

Southern Partisan: *Your observations on race and culture and on American slavery in this magazine and in other places have generated a great deal of controversy. You are accused by some of advocating “white supremacy” and defending slavery. How do you respond?*



A great "paleocon," the late M.E. Bradford

Francis: I responded in a rather lengthy letter in the *Wall Street Journal* that was published on December 20, 1995. Essentially, I have three things to say about race: (1) race is real and race is important; there are *real* differences between the races, (2) while those differences justify racial consciousness—being aware of the differences and being proud of your own race and people and the culture they've created—they do not justify domination or exploitation of one race by another or hatred of other races. Blacks in America are coming to grasp the importance of race, even though many still want to use race to buttress anti-white activity; whites still don't understand it at all and are still terrified of the concept of race. And (3) while each race can develop racial consciousness as it wants to act on it in private and social relationships, the federal government, including the Supreme Court, should have nothing more to do with race than with religion. We can have a color blind government but still have racial awareness on a private, social level, and we ought to be able to get along on that basis, just as we can get along with being Catholics, Protestants, Jews, etc., privately, even though the state is blind to religious distinctions.

Southern Partisan: *Given your recent experience, do you believe that Americans, by and large, are ready for a frank and serious discussion of the problems of race and ethnicity in the U.S. today?*

Francis: Yes, I believe most Americans of all races would welcome frank and serious discussion of race. Unfortunately, some people, including certain conservatives, are afraid of it or want to use such discussion as an excuse to intimidate those who do talk about it frankly.

Southern Partisan: *What books and authors have influenced you the most?*

Francis: James Burnham's *The Machiavellians* was the most influential book I have ever read, for much of the reasons discussed above. Other books that have had major influences on me are M. E. Bradford's essays, and James Fitzjames Stephens's *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*.

Southern Partisan: *Can Christians succeed as a political faction? How effective have the various conservative Christian political lobbies been in your opinion?*

Francis: The Christian Coalition is a model of how a grassroots conservative organization can exert major political influence. The key is to make your political activism a regular and continuous part of your daily life, so that activism is not just a hobby that distracts your members from their other activities. But the Christian Coalition is much better at its grassroots base than at its leadership levels. This is consistent with what I have immodestly dubbed "Francis's Law," which is: The membership (or readership) of a conservative organization (or publication) is always to the right of its leadership. It's true of the Christian Coalition (with which I have no affiliation, incidentally) and it was true at *The Washington Times*. But for all its organizational genius, the Christian Coalition offers an ideology that only a few Americans can adhere to or identify with, and there are important issues that evangelical religion doesn't touch or which it misses. Like many religiously based groups, the Christian Coalition has a tendency toward theocratic policies. The ideal movement would be a more secularly oriented grassroots organization of the right that would retain the same basic values and principles of the Christian Coalition but not couch them exclusively in religious terms and thus be able to attract a wider range of citizens than just those committed to evangelical Christianity.

Southern Partisan: *You seem very pessimistic about populism. Can there be a serious mass challenge to the managerial state?*

Francis: First of all, populism is really only a strategy, not a political theory. Efforts to raise it up as a political theory, justifying the principle that the majority is always right, don't work. But the prob-

lem today is that our elites are corrupt, intent on keeping power and contemptuous of the average American. This is true in government, in culture, and in the economy. There is a real revolt brewing in this country outside the elites, and the elites, centered in New York, Washington, and Hollywood, are oblivious to the revolt except when they get smashed over the head by it (as with Prop 187 or the term limits movement). The elites will do anything they can to crush, derail, or manipulate the populist revolt, and populist activists often miss how defeat can be snatched from the jaws of victory.

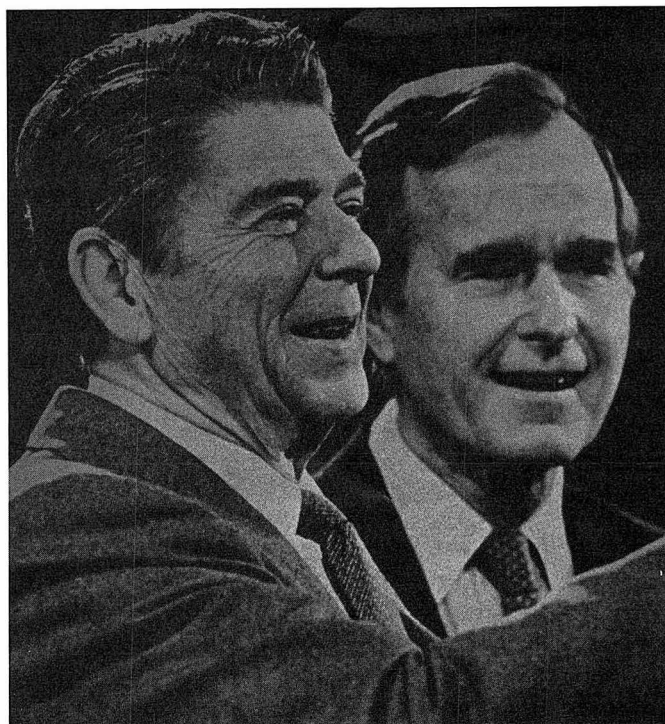
I believe I am optimistic about a populist revolt, but what is needed is not only a firm following of activists but also adequate leadership and clear vision. Until we have those, populism can't go anywhere.

Southern Partisan: If populism is untenable, is the alternative a kind of "conservative managerial elite"—something like the Chinese mandarins?

Francis: I think the Chinese mandarin approach is what is called neo-conservatism. The neo-cons really don't want to restructure or decentralize the state; they simply want to take it over and run it themselves through their in-laws and old college roommates. The basic problem with the neos is that they have never broken with the basic lines of liberalism; they merely criticize aspects of it they don't like, and so they lack a big picture; they really have a very incomplete picture of how liberalism has helped harm this country. Hence, whenever they get in power they will always be careful not to challenge liberalism too deeply, and the only thing they can do is plot how to get each other appointed to the right jobs.

Southern Partisan: What of the "new federalism" we keep hearing about? Could genuine "states' rights" conservatism again be an alternative to the federal leviathan?

Francis: States' rights are having a comeback. There is now an important body of legal theory that supports them—Marshall de Rosa's work, the work of Bill Quirk and Randall Bridwell at South Carolina, Raoul Berger, etc. There are also important social forces like those in the land war in the West that support at least some degree of state autonomy. States' rights could be an important means of controlling the federal leviathan, but two things are needed: (1) they have to be supported consistently, not just on issues in which we have a material interest; and (2) even at the state level today, there are mini-leviathans, so it may not matter if the federal government is decentralized or



Ronald Reagan and George Bush were nominally conservative, but were "unable to challenge liberalism deeply" according to Francis.

dismantled if the states are doing the same thing the big leviathan is.

Southern Partisan: What are your expectations for the upcoming presidential election? Will anything change for the better?

Francis: The only candidate worth supporting is Pat Buchanan. I think he made a mistake running as a Republican but even so I think he is breaking new ground with the issues he's created, and even if he doesn't win, he will leave an important legacy. Just as Wallace left a legacy that shaped the politics of the 1970s and '80s, so Buchanan's legacy will probably shape those of the next two decades. What I'd like to see, short of Buchanan in the White House, is a national grassroots movement centered around many of the themes he's developed—economic nationalism, a rejection of the "Economic Man" ideology of the libertarian and pro-business right, an America First foreign policy, a moratorium on immigration, a serious cultural conservatism, and a dismantling of the federal leviathan, and a restoration of the federal government to its proper constitutional limits. I believe we are ready for such a movement, but it may take a generation to build it into a political coalition that can win national victory.

Southern Partisan: Thank you Dr. Francis.

Andersonville: The Horrors of a Georgia Movie

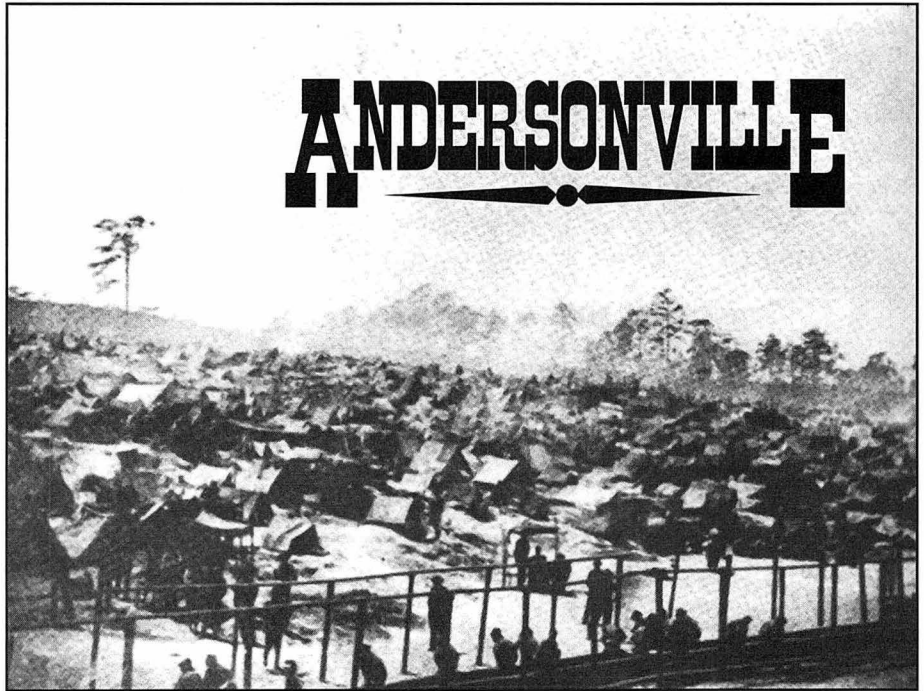
by Kevin R. Gutzman

A Review of:
Andersonville
Turner Network Television, 1996

I am the direct descendant of two Yankee infantrymen - both privates - who spent time in C.S.A. prison camps: one in the camp at Tyler, Texas, and one along with his brother in various places, including Camp Sumter, Georgia. One died insane a half-century later, while the other died at about the same time of rheumatism he contracted while a P.O.W. To the best of my knowledge, the only other ancestor of mine who participated in the war was a Yankee cavalryman—also a private—who served in the West. Thus, I do not have any inherited reason for rushing to the defense of the C.S.A. or her prison system.

Yet, the idea of a movie version of the story of Camp Sumter ("Andersonville") appearing on TNT was for me a very unhappy one. I anticipated yet another attempt to equate the U.S.A., in the era of Lincoln, with God's Truth (to borrow Mrs. Howe's misapplication of Christ's name for Himself), a sort of "Glory II: White Guys Against The South (Which Makes Them Heroic)." The propaganda leading up to the showing of Turner's movie gave me a sense of acute foreboding about the film.

"Andersonville Diaries," an infotainment show narrated by Charlton Heston, was among the vehicles for hyping the movie. The technique used by the producers was simple: marshal authentic historians to give the "information" the show contained some cache,



then intersperse the segments featuring historians with statements from actors, producers, et al. Why Hollywood persists in presenting ignorami as experts simply because they are involved in making a film about a given topic I leave to others. The info-tainment program's historians put Camp Sumter in the context of its time and described events there accurately, while the Hollywood types used terms like "concentration camp" and "America's Auschwitz" (for the latter of which, of course, they might more properly have looked to the blessings that had been and would be bestowed by Americans of all sections on various groups of Indians).

Seemingly, the technique for whitewashing the Union war effort most favored by Lincoln apologists and Confederacy haters is that of foregoing the provision of context. Thus, David Donald's Lincoln provides precisely two lines in 599

pages about Sherman's depredations against the Confederate populace; thus, neither "Andersonville Diaries" nor "Andersonville" provided any information whatever about the capacity of the C.S.A. to feed, clothe, and shelter Union prisoners at Camp Sumter better than was done. The latest scholarly treatment of the topic holds that the U.S.A. did not treat prisoners notably better than the Confederates did. If anything, it seems that brutality was meted out more arbitrarily by Union servicemen in prison camps in the United States than by their Confederate counterparts at Andersonville.

The voice-over to "Andersonville's" trailer said that societies are judged by the quality of their prisons. Historians are capable of decoding that: in the case of Camp Sumter, the shortages of food, clothing, and shelter- not to mention the presence within the prison's walls of foreign soldiers

captured, in the vast majority of cases, on Confederate soil—showed that the society in question was indeed suffering invasion and despoliation at the hands of foreign forces whose practice of war was, in the description of their one-time commander, un-Christian.

General John Winder, the commandant of Camp Sumter, was an old war-horse essentially uninterested in the operation of the camps under his command; his great good fortune lay in dying before the Union Army got its killing hands on him. In his stead, the blame fell on the withered shoulders of a decrepit, immigrant captain named Henry Wirz. Blame for what?

Among other things, the prison camp at Andersonville, Georgia was designed for 8,000 prisoners, but its maximum occupancy approached 33,000. The result: a hell-hole. This fact has never been denied; what has been disputed, though, is the degree to which the situation was one the Confederates might have ameliorated. In point of fact, there was little they could do, and that is where the movie distorts reality.

The supply of simple foodstuffs in the C.S.A. was poor in 1864 and 1865, which were the years when Camp Sumter was operational. As Sherman's men made a point of depriving civilians of their property, often with starvation as an explicit goal, the Confederacy came to have. . . less food. Unsurprisingly, that translated into less food for invaders held in C.S.A. prisons. Yet, food was not used as a weapon to coerce the prisoners' compliance with Confederate authorities' rules. When the movie shows Wirz threatening assem-

bled inmates with a day's deprivation, it is simply falsifying history.

This brings us to a larger point: that of the direction of falsification of history in the popular media. One may expect to find a fornicating priest in a Hollywood production, a thieving businessman who

oners in Camp Sumter that their guards had been offered a 30-day furlough for each prisoner they shot. As historian William Marvel points out, the commander of a chronically undermanned prison garrison could hardly have afforded to give his men an offer perfectly calculated to denude the walls of guards. One may take exception to Marvel's implication about the morals of the typical Confederate stockade guards without denying that the idea is nonsensical.

Yet, it is presented as fact in "Andersonville," which isn't an anti-Southern movie.

While the Confederacy is criminal, or at best inhuman, the Yankee soldiers in "Andersonville" are extremely heroic. More heroic than their real-life counterparts.

For example, there comes a point in the second hour of the second and final episode when a Confederate colonel visiting Camp

Sumter offers the prisoners an opportunity to win release from the pestilential prison. All they need to do is to agree to join the C.S.A. armies.

Here is high heroism: as the music builds, as the shot cuts from one character's face to another's, the entire camp makes a decision to reject the offer. Unit by unit, all march away from the camp's gate. All very emotionally appealing, with only one flaw: it never happened. In point of fact, several hundred prisoners from Camp Sumter did accept the opportunity to get out of that place, as one might expect. The stench, the weather, the deprivation characteristic of the prison camp—besides the remuneration and the liberty itself offered to those who would do so—led many to turn coat.



A burial party placing bodies in one of the mass graves at the beleaguered Andersonville.

pronounces that "greed is good" in a popular film, or a cruel Southern prison commandant in a prison film; these might be dismissed as mere plot devices if it were not for the fact that some groups—Christians, businessmen, Southern white men—are depicted committing these transgressions, while others—you know which ones they are—are not. This is not a matter of literary contrivance so much as of propaganda.

John Frankenheimer, who is the man responsible for "Andersonville," told Larry King that he did not want his to be an "anti-Southern" film. Evidently, he thought such fabrications would be seen to be consistent with a film not anti-Southern in animus. This is not an isolated example, either.

There was a rumor among pris-

Whatever Mrs. Howe may have thought, the U.S.A. did not have legions of angels on its side; even if they had, angels are apt to take sides, too.

The depiction of Captain Wirz in this picture is symptomatic of the entirety of the "Andersonville" project. In life, he had a bad arm and a very weak (opposite) shoulder. While he was physically incapable of beating prisoners as he was accused of doing in his post-war trial and organizationally incapable of procuring the provisions and supplies that would have been necessary to make Camp Sumter the kind of prison of which Hubert Humphrey would have approved, he was convicted of what the film calls "war crimes" in the war's wake. Sherman's people, the victorious U.S.A., were good judges of morality in warfare; just ask them.

The movie tells us that Wirz was convicted, and the furloughs issue, the arbitrary withholding of food, the laxness in attending to the prisoners' sanitary conditions (suggestions for improving which the real Wirz made, only to have his caricature in "Andersonville" rebuked by an inspector with his failure to make some of the *very same changes!*), and the apparent glee with which he sicced dogs on escapees all seem to indicate that insofar as anyone can deserve conviction under *ex post facto* laws, Wirz deserved it. As explained above, though, each of these charges is inaccurate.

Lending weight to the movie's propagandistic effect, to its inaccuracy, to its identity as part of the never-ending war against the memory of the C.S.A. foretold by President Jefferson Davis, is the fact that the Confederate garrison

at Camp Sumter is shown resplendent in immaculate uniforms, enjoying full rations, and squeaky-clean to the very end. In point of fact, rations were often low, uniforms were hard to come by, and men themselves were scarce. Despite General Howell Cobb's efforts, the garrison at Camp Sumter was always more appropriate to a camp holding 8,000 prisoners than to one with closer to 33,000. "Andersonville" shows boys in the military (a situation my 15-year-old ancestor in the U.S. Army would have found familiar), but their real state is never hinted at. The point is that the deprivation within the camp is somehow the C.S.A.'s fault—one Thoreau-ite character says there is "no law" in the C.S.A.—and that is very comfortably consistent

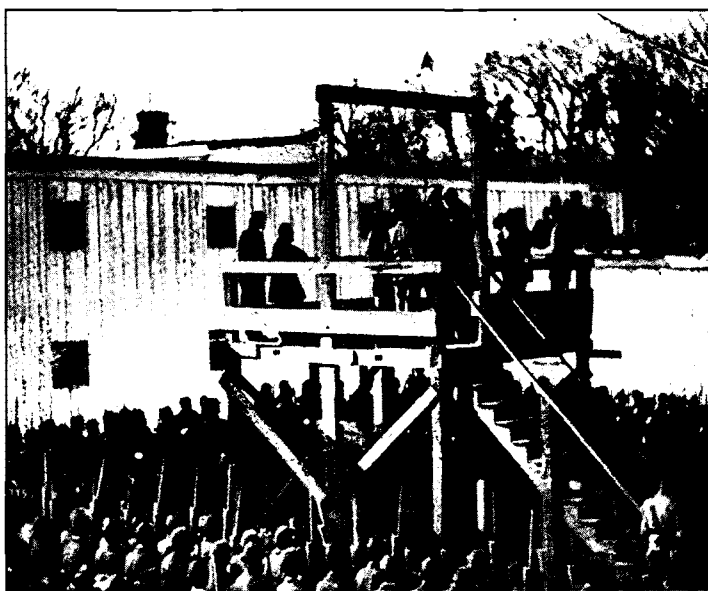
arson, and murder - in their drive to subjugate the Confederacy. Prisoners in Confederate prisons had to eat meal unfit for human consumption in sparse quantity because everyone in the C.S.A. was bereft of the tools for removing the corn cobs, not because of uncaring or sadistic camp guards or commandants; medicine was in short supply because there was none to be had; guards were quick to shoot men who stopped outside well-marked bounds because soldiers were in short supply, necessitating regular order; scurvy was rampant because requests for better provisions made by responsible officers went unheeded.

In sum, while "Andersonville" and films like it may make good entertainment (and the violence in Frankenheimer's prison camp merits an "R" rating), they all seem to subscribe to the same tendentious historical school.

A final note: Mr. Ted Turner, who owns TNT, is the number one man at the non-profit organization charged with maintaining the site of Camp Sumter, which also features the graves of the thousands who died there. The film is dedicated to prisoners of war generally, and followed by Mr. Turner's public service announcement for his

charity. Just as one may wonder whether Frankenheimer really did not want to make an anti-Southern film, one may wonder whether a man who would marry Jane Fonda really cares about prisoners of war. ☆

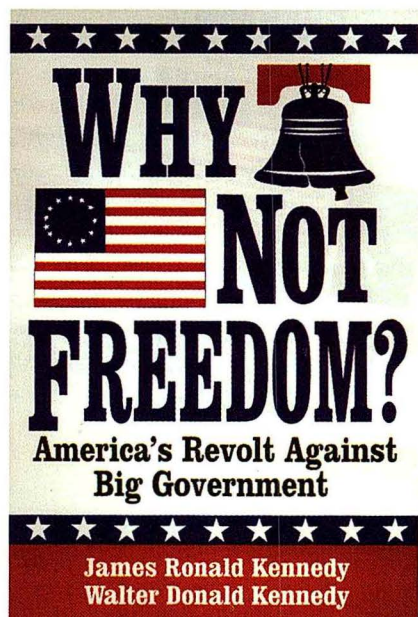
Kevin R. Gutzman is a graduate student in American history at the University of Virginia.



Camp Commandant Captain Henry Wirz, the only man executed for "war crimes" after the war, at his hanging on November 10, 1865 at the Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C.

with U.S. of American myth.

As Charles Royster has shown, though, the full story is that McClellan's appeal to Lincoln not to adopt military tactics inconsistent with Christianity was rejected. Grant and, especially, Sherman had decided to spare nothing - not their own men, not Confederates' property, not enemy civilians, not traditional hesitancy of American generals to sanction looting, rape,



Since the Republican victory in the 1994 congressional elections, a number of books appeared making the case for states' rights. Though these books make many important points, I am aware of none as successful in identifying the root causes of current problems and offering real solutions as *Why Not Freedom?* by James and Walter Kennedy. The Kennedy Brothers, co-authors of *The South Was Right!*, remain true to their patrimony and approach the problem of big government from a quintessential Southern perspective.

Unlike other writers who begin discussions of government's growth with the Progressive Era, World War I, or the New Deal, the Kennedys correctly trace our current problems back to the outcome of the War Between the States. Once the states were stripped of their power to interpose between their citizens and the national government, the citizenry were left to fend for themselves and have suffered losses of liberty ever since. The Kennedys clearly demonstrate that the framers of the Constitution meant

The Cause Endures

by William Watkins, Jr.

A Review of:

Why Not Freedom? America's Revolt Against Big Government

by James Ronald Kennedy and Walter Donald Kennedy

Pelican Publishing Company, 1995, 397 pages, \$17.95.

the states to be the people's bulwarks against encroachments of the national government. With those bulwarks now but administrative subdivisions of Washington, government grows and grows despite the wishes of the majority of Americans.

Though other books approach the growth of government from a partisan perspective, political partisanship is not to be found in *Why Not Freedom?* The Kennedy's censure both political parties, and unlike most critics on the Right, reserve some of their sharpest critiques for Republican luminaries from Abraham Lincoln to Ronald Reagan. They accuse the GOP of intentionally betraying middle America and offer as evidence the lack of correlation between Republican actions and their conservative rhetoric. The Kennedys cite Reagan's renewal of the Voting Rights Act and Bush's endorsement of the 1991 Civil Rights Act, which the latter had derided earlier as a "quota bill."

After discussing the culprits behind our bloated government, the Kennedys move on to catalog the disastrous results of national meddling in state and local affairs. From gun control to the national debt, the authors list example after example of destructive policies. One of the most outrageous cases mentioned involved a fourteen-year-old boy who was

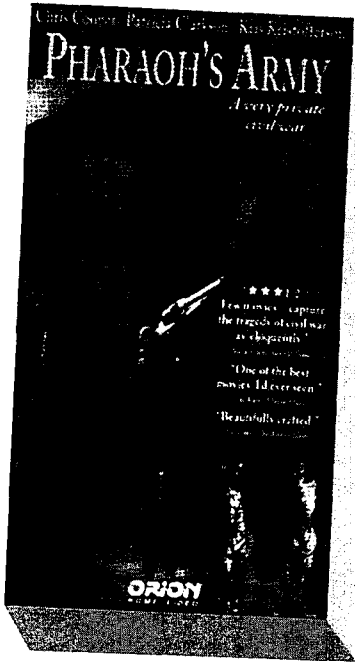
lost for two days in the New Mexican wilderness. Once located by search helicopters, the U.S. Forest Service denied the pilot permission to land and bring the youngster to safety. Why? Government regulations prohibited mechanical vehicles from entering the wilderness area. Thanks to bureaucratic regulations, the frightened boy was forced to spend a third night in the wild.

The Kennedys' answer to such government malevolence is a return to a decentralized Republic of Republics. "Individual freedom, personal property and constitutional government," write the authors, "are best protected at the local level by those whose interest it is to safeguard their own liberty from the abuses of an aggressive Federal government."

Any other solution, according to the authors, is doomed to fail in the long run. Budget cuts and repeals of legislation today can always be undone by majority vote tomorrow. Thus, unless the states recover their powers to defend the interests of their citizens, the national government will continue to grow over time.

In order to return real power to the states, the Kennedys recommend passage of a Sovereign Authority Amendment. The

Continued on page 53...



Confederate Curio

by Norman Stewart

A Review of:

Pharaoh's Army (1995)

Produced, written, and directed by Robby Henson

Starring: Chris Cooper, Patricia Clarkson, Kris Kristofferson

90 minutes, Orion Home Video

Sarah is mostly resigned to this invasion. Without making a Southern case, this comes as close as you'll see to a film that can be seen as pro-Confederate.

Sommersby's success must have gotten this off the ground. It has the same anecdotal feel as something that's interesting but which history chose to pass by. Both use the earth as a theme. Both open with graves being dug. Just as *Sommersby* detailed tobacco growing as no other film had, I've never seen plowing so vividly shown. *Pharaoh's Army* has the first film's severe look, but not its pretensions, perhaps because it had less money, some of which came from Kentucky. In short, it doesn't seem like Yankees or scalawags trying to explain the South to the twentieth century.

There are only a few actors here, so accents were easy to keep in line. Patricia Clarkson, as Sarah, just suggests without attempting a full fledged one. That's high art for regional theater dillitantes, but it routinely sinks performances, especially for Southern crowds.

Kris Kristofferson has only a few scenes as a preacher. He's the Southern bookend to the northern abolitionist preacher who inspired the captain, then recently widowed and forelorned, to join.

Alas, Henson can't bring himself to use even the mild "War Between the States." A narrator, the boy grown old in 1941, says

"Civil War" once.

Every valley and hollow is filled with rolling fog. The first time I watched, this beautiful dankness was what most impressed me. The second time, I appreciated what a visual storyteller Henson is. The first few shots practically sum up the whole show. With the sound off, it still plays well.

Talk aside, the soundtrack has a good Ry Cooderish score by several composers. It's maybe too modern to be called authentic. A few times it even borders on New Age. But considering the PBS money, it's a good thing we are spared an attempt by musical folklorists at an achingly accurate period score.

Pharaoh's Army isn't so much a Confederate story as a real one. Forty years ago when Hollywood made all sorts of movies, this could have been done by Henry King with Susan Hayward and Tyrone Power. Thematically, it wouldn't stand out. Today, it's a curio.

Now when film takes on such simple folk, whether in commercial Hollywood or self conscious independent pictures, they tend to be condescendingly true to the heart, even when they work.

Robby Henson's *Pharaoh's Army* doesn't have that. He is a natural with a major career ahead of him. ☆

Norman Stewart is the Partisan's foremost film critic.

Some time back, Kentucky folklorist Harry Caudill told Robby Henson "just a bare nugget about a family that killed a union soldier and secretly buried him." Henson wrote and directed *Pharaoh's Army*. It got a limited theatrical run. It's now getting a video release with a PBS American Playhouse run after that.

Sarah buries her daughter, only to have her East Kentucky Yankee neighbors dig up. She and her young son take the girl back to the farm for burial. Some foraging Yankees, led by a captain who's ashamed to be stealing from innocent women and children, come to steal her food and pitiful livestock. One soldier is accidentally hurt. The captain, who has never seen action, sees a chance for a break from the war.

He is a widower disillusioned with the war, as are his men. This is handled matter of factly with no attempt made at a case for the North. On the otherhand, no case, pro or con, is made for the South. Though she finally takes action,

Ode to Father Abraham

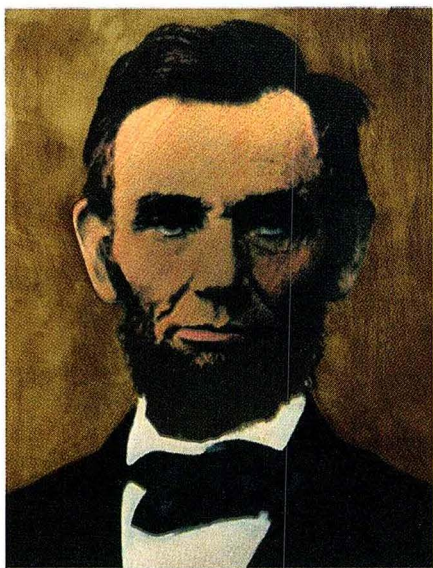
by Kevin R. Gutzman

A Review of:

Lincoln

by David Herbert Donald

Simon & Schuster, 1995, 599 pages, \$35.00.



Professor David Herbert Donald of Harvard University, a son of Mississippi and two-time Pulitzer Prize winner, is one of the most prominent historians of the late twentieth century. His biography of Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts—probably the most sanctimonious politician in American history—earned that statesman the label “perhaps the most perfect impersonation of what the South most wanted to secede from,” his *Lincoln Reconsidered* is a fine collection of insightful essays on Lincoln-related questions, and his *The Civil War and Reconstruction* may be the best short textbook on the period. Thus, historians have looked forward to *Lincoln*, which is obviously the capstone of a distinguished half-century-long career, with considerable anticipation.

To put it simply, the book is a disappointment. It has its share of simple mistakes of fact, and the theme around which Donald intends to organize the book simply is not borne out by the evidence he adduces. In addition, Donald uncritically accepts all of the suppositions of the neo-abolitionist school that has dominated the study of Lincoln ever since John Wilkes Booth’s assassination of the sixteenth president of the U.S.A. in 1865.

Lincoln said of his conduct as President that, “I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me,” and Donald has set himself the task of providing conclusive proof of this most famous piece of Lincolnian fatuousness. Lincoln may have adopted this idea—thereby taking credit for, but attempting to avoid the moral culpability associated with, that gargantuan war for which he was responsible—but that is no excuse for Donald’s accepting it despite his own evidence.

Besides accepting Lincoln’s argument against his own moral culpability, Donald employs the narrative technique made famous by Douglas Southall Freeman in his biography of General Robert E. Lee, which is to tell his reader only what his hero knew at the time he knew it. Thus, there is nothing in this book about the suffering that befell the nation Lincoln’s armies laid waste: no civilian populations subjected to

cannonade, no civilians intentionally starved to death, no Confederate cities denuded of their proudest architectural monuments by arsonous Union “soldiers.” One can see that Freeman’s technique is useful in telling the story of a great military strategist and tactician, for one is enabled by it to understand why the general made the decisions he did; however, when it comes to telling the story of the chief protagonist of a massive aggression, of the single most destructive war ever launched up to its time, to omit the effects of that war on the people it affected is evidence of a grievous moral miscalculation—one typical of the historiographical tradition to which Donald is heir.

The myth of Lincoln is that he was born into nothing, failed all his life, assumed leadership of the anti-Douglas faction in Illinois, and was shortly elevated to the presidency of the United States. Virtually nothing in that myth is true. Lincoln was born to a hard-pressed, ill-educated father, yes, but his father provided him a stable family life. Donald, typically of his treatment of Lincoln’s decision making, characterizes Lincoln’s decision to break off relations with his father by saying Lincoln “had adopted values of which his father did not seem to him to be an adequate representative.” What Donald has in mind is that Abraham had decided to pursue a life of self-glorification, via personal enrichment and political activity, and his father was not possessed of such “values.” Thus, rank paganism is simply taken for granted.

Abraham Lincoln’s limited education was most evidently displayed in his peculiar religious thought. He early latched onto the

"doctrine of necessity," a sort of neo-Gnostic idea that God is a great martinet who manipulates man to His will. This idea was reinforced in his mind by his favorite teaching of Shakespeare, who had famously written that, "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will." Lincoln used this idea in excuse of all the ill he wrought.

The second element of untruth in the Lincoln myth is that he was a nobody before 1858. In fact, he was one of the most prominent lawyers in Illinois, having demonstrated a single-minded dedication to his craft that struck his fellow circuit-riding attorneys as extreme. Donald pleads Lincoln's professional obligations in extenuation of his failure to ride to his father's side when the latter was on his deathbed; a reader approaching Lincoln from a less sympathetic perspective may arrive at a less sympathetic conclusion.

His wife, meanwhile, proved a match for him; she delighted in lavish expenditures, whether on furniture, on expansion of the Lincoln house, or on clothes, so Mr. Lincoln was constantly beset by unanticipated debt. (Indeed, had he lived through his second term, Donald hints, he would have received quite a shock from his wife's creditors.) Mary Lincoln also burned for her husband's advancement to the presidency, which she predicted well before it seemed possible to anyone else. Life was a matter of flaunting one's attainments. It was Mrs. Lincoln, the first woman ever called "first lady" (and one supposes this was a title of derision), who introduced communers with fallen spirits into the White House.

The final untruth in the Lincoln myth was that Lincoln was a political nobody before he became Douglas's antagonist. In fact, as the reader will realize on recollecting that Lincoln was chiefly responsible for moving the

Illinois capital to Springfield, Lincoln had been a very influential state legislator. He had made quite an impression on his fellow Whigs, who saw in him the potential of better things. He left the legislature after four terms, convinced there was no more for him to accomplish there and that in Illinois, where all state-wide elections were won by the Democrats, he had no political future.

Lincoln's Whig identity stemmed from his economic experience as a riverboatman, which was one of the several lines of work he had followed before settling on law. Simply, he had become convinced that the government could improve river communications, and it was on that basis that he had first offered himself for public office. His district was a river district, and he promised—in the mode of Henry Clay—that the pork barrel would be larded. Despite the arguments of the sympathetic historians who dominate the field, it was partly because of Lincoln's consistent advocacy of the activist government program the South had opposed that he was seen as a thorough-going enemy of the South. Donald virtually ignores the question why the South should have been so alarmed by the idea of a Lincoln presidency.

Donald's account of the war includes some great gaffes, such as his statement that the U.S. Navy bombarded Charleston into ruins (I guess he's never been there) and his idea that there were few political appointees among Lincoln's generals, and some errors in judgment, such as his acceptance of the common notion that Lincoln was some kind of a great war leader. It is, however, right on in taking some minority positions, including his acceptance of the fact that McClellan's was prudent generalship. One can only wonder at the preachy nature of Lincoln-related books that fail to note the weight of McClellan's protestations that

the Union's should be a "Christian" war effort—one that spared civilians. While Donald is not slow to take sides, his only response to this idea is to note that Lincoln had already realized what was necessary to the successful conclusion of the war.

Donald recounts Lincoln's generals' confrontation with Chief Justice Taney over suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and he mentions the New York City draft riots of 1863 in passing, but the fact that Lincoln's Union was essentially a dictatorship of the Republican Party—one in which elections were manipulated, for example—as it would more unabashedly be during Reconstruction, passes unremarked. Confederates are labeled rebels, the war a rebellion—the latter of which is certainly a taking of sides—but never does Donald gainsay Lincoln's appraisal of the necessary; still less does he disagree with such as Sumner and Chase about what is moral. Lincoln, despite Donald's epigram and stated intention, is not proven by this book to have been whipped about by circumstance; rather, his is the guiding hand that spurs on such as U.S. Grant, Phil Sheridan, and William Sherman to the first wholly Clausewitzian war.

As the end of the war approaches, Lincoln—who, Donald says in one throwaway line at the very end of the book, has been attending a Presbyterian church in Washington throughout the war—comes to feel a great weight on his conscience, as well he might. His recourse though, is to blame it all on God. Every negative result of Lincoln's political and ideological imperatives (and in one early passage, Donald does admit that Republican refusal to accept secession or to accommodate the South's

Continued on page 53...

The Truth in Black & White

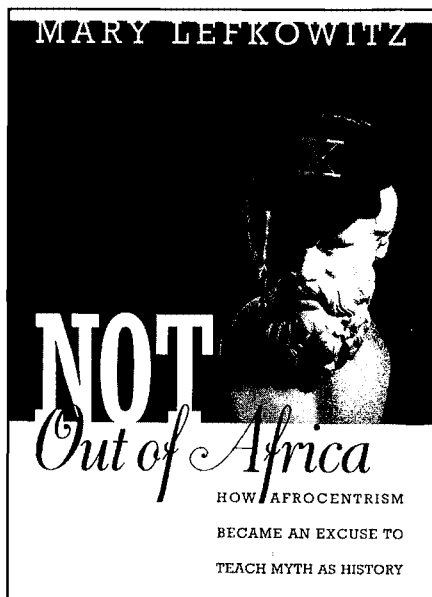
by Charles Scott Hamel

A Review of:

Not Out of Africa

by Mary Lefkowitz

Basic Books, 1996, 222 pages, \$24.00.



By now, there is no area of academic studies which has not been infected with the virus of "political correctness." There is even a "feminist" math and a "black" math. So it should come as no surprise that a subject as old as the Classics has also proven vulnerable to the ravages of the P.C. infection.

Mary Lefkowitz is a classicist and professor in Humanities at Wellesley College who is not afraid to speak her mind and the truth about the way certain radical Afro-centrist pseudo-historians have distorted history or manufactured lies about the origins of Greek civilization and the racial make-up of important historical figures from ancient North Africa. The Afro-centrists claim,

for example, that Socrates was black; that the Greeks "stole" their knowledge from the Egyptians when Aristotle and Alexander the Great came to Alexandria and robbed the library of its contents; and that Hannibal, St. Cyprian of Carthage, and St. Augustine were all black.

The above are just a few examples of the myths and outright falsehoods currently being taught in many Black Studies departments throughout the country.

Dr. Lefkowitz is eminently qualified to expose these frauds through her expert knowledge of the Classics and her special interest in pseudo-history. And it requires just such an unusual combination of special competency and interest to tackle a project of this kind.

It is important to realize at the outset that the "Egypt" referred to by black nationalist writers is not the Egypt known to us from the hieroglyphic writings. The black nationalist "Egypt" is a phenomenon made up from Greek and Roman writers of centuries later who were unable to read the ancient hieroglyphs and were dependent on second and third hand sources for their information.

Fake Egypts abound. An 18th century novel entitled *Sethos*, drew to some extent on Greco-Roman writers who wrote on

Egypt. Written by a Catholic priest-professor of Greek at the College de France, the Abbe Jean Terrason (1670-1750), *Sethos* gave a picture of Egypt which looked remarkably like the College de France! This is the view of Egypt depicted in Mozart's 1791 opera *The Magic Flute*. Many of the rituals of the Masons are based on this 18th Century view (though its members are expected to believe the antiquity of the rites). This version of Egypt in turn passed to black Masonic lodges in the West Indies, and voila!, the black nationalist Egypt! The story of how these fictitious ideas about "Egypt" were transmitted to and taken over by black nationalists such as Frederick Douglass (1817-1895), W.E.B. DuBois (1868-1963) and Marcus Garvey (1887-1940) is one of the most fascinating aspects of the book.

What factual basis, then, exists for the charge that the Greeks "stole" their philosophy from ancient Egypt, that such philosophy was "robbed" from the library in Alexandria by Aristotle (384-322 B.C) and Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.), and that certain ancient historical luminaries from North Africa were black? As Dr. Lefkowitz notes, there is none at all.

As was observed above, the Egypt of the black nationalists is pure fiction. The library at Alexandria was built long after Aristotle and Alexander were dead. The racial make up of North Africa was Berber, Semitic, and Roman. St. Augustine (354-430 A.D.) probably was of mixed Berber and Roman descent. Hannibal (247-183 B.C.) was of Phoenician descent whose ancestors came to North Africa from

what is today's Lebanon. In other words, he was a Semite, related to the ancient Hebrews and the Arabs. St. Cyprian of Carthage (200-258 A.D.) descended from a Roman family which colonized the former territory of Carthage 100 years after its defeat and destruction in 146 B.C.

As for Socrates (470-399 B.C.), all the information we have about him indicates that his family came from Athens. The portrait busts of Socrates which have come down to us probably don't reflect his actual physical appearance; they are inspired by jokes of his pupils that he was snub nosed and had the appearance of a satyr.

In saner and more rational times, there would be no necessity for a book of this kind. But we live in an age in which it is no longer fashionable to distinguish between fiction and fact. And the issues raised by *Not Out of Africa* involve matters much more fundamental than a debate over curricula in our colleges and universities. Put simply, questions about truth and honesty and thereby the very future of our civilization constitute the stakes involved. The Afro-centrists are attempting to blur or to eliminate altogether the distinction between "warranted evidence" and "acceptable claims."

For example, Afro-centrist writers claim that Hannibal was black simply because they want him to be black, not because there is any historical evidence indicating that he was. (There is, of course, no such evidence, as we have seen). When this happens, the distinction between truth and falsehood disappears. Truth becomes what the speaker or writer claims it to be, without any burden of proof. In this context, it is ironic to note that the Afro-centrists are doing exactly what the Nazis did when they claimed that Jesus was an "Aryan" and not a Jew. Their hatred of Jews caused them to invent their own version of history.

I would like to make some miscellaneous observations on this fine, very topical, and very necessary book. First of all, it is not going to be easy to turn things around and convince black students that they have been the victims of a tremendous intellectual scam and fraud. Dr. Lefkowitz notes what happened when a certain Dr. Ben Jochannan, described as an "Egyptologist," gave the Martin Luther King, Jr. memorial lecture at Wellesley in 1993 and talked about Aristotle having robbed the library at Alexandria and portrayed blacks as the true Jews, etc.

When questioned by Dr. Lefkowitz regarding the sources of these remarkable claims, Dr. Jochannan could give no satisfactory answers and said that he resented the tone of the inquiry. Dr. Lefkowitz also observed that several faculty members who should have spoken out did not do so and that she, herself, was called a "racist" and accused of being brainwashed by white historians. This incident is fairly representative of the type of opposition one comes up against when one tries to expose the fraudulent nature of the P.C. mind and its weird excretions.

The important point to emphasize is this: allowing such fantasies to go unchallenged does a great deal of harm. Those concerned with educating young people should realize that Afro-centrism will be in the end a cruel delusion for black people. It encourages them to base their cultural identity and their sense of worth on a fraudulent or fictional heritage. When they get out into the real world, they will become all the more bitter and resentful when they discover that they have been ripped off intellectually by liberal white con artists who wish to keep blacks in a subservient condition to themselves and have much benefited from this state of affairs.

Finally, it remains to be noted

that history pulled like a rabbit out of the magician's hat is no new thing as Dr. Lefkowitz points out. In the second century B.C., a Hellenized Jew, Aristobulus by name, claimed that Plato (427-347 B.C.) knew the first five books of the Bible and had studied them in a Greek translation. The only problem was that the translation would have had to have existed several centuries before the Septuagint, the first known translation of the Old Testament into Greek (which appeared in the second or third centuries B.C.). In other words, the claims were simply not possible.

Southerners are very familiar with politically correct versions of history. We have suffered through gross distortions of our past which have emanated from Northern publishers, historians and journalists in the post-bellum period and continue to be circulated today. We should not be greatly astonished at this latest attempt at myth-making, offering the past not as it actually was, but as some group wants so earnestly to believe it was.

There is, as Eugene Genovese recently pointed out, a conscious attempt to deprive Southern whites, as well as blacks, of the true legacy of their past and their heroes as they really were. Imagination without scholarship can create more than ignorance. It can also create animosity and chaos.

This is a very dangerous game which could have tragic consequences for members of both races. A similar disaster will befall the Afro-centrists and their white liberal supporters if steps are not taken soon to restore concretely the terms "honesty" and "integrity" in the teaching of history in our schools and colleges. Both blacks and whites deserve nothing less—or more—than the truth. ☆

Charles Hamel is publisher of Southern Partisan.

BOOK NOTES

Derailing the Constitution: The Undermining of American Federalism

Edward B. McLean, Editor

(Intercollegiate Studies Institute,
1995, 176 pages, \$12.95)

In *Derailing*, it becomes clear right away that there is a strange inclusion of several essays of dubious quality in an otherwise sound volume. Particularly disconcerting is Indiana University Professor William F. Harvey's obvious enthusiasm for the Fourteenth Amendment, the mechanism by which true federalism was largely destroyed. The Amendment, he explains, was intended to protect what he calls our "Rights in Liberty" against infringement by the state governments.

Harvey speaks as though the protection of individual rights by the federal government, via the mechanism of the Fourteenth Amendment, were a triumphant realization of the Constitution's original promise. But thankfully, our Constitution owes nothing to Rousseau, and views the American citizenry not as a mere aggregate of atomized individuals to be manipulated by the central state, but as members of distinct political communities with rights and traditions of their own.

The decision not to make the Bill of Rights applicable to the states, therefore, was both deliberate and sound. The states are capable of self-government, and have far fewer incentives to become despotic than does the federal government. Federal intervention, however ostensibly benign, seldom stays that way for long.

The majority of McLean's volume is a valuable collection of sound constitutional scholarship, however. The contributions of Pro-

fessor Forrest McDonald and Rockford Institute President Allan Carlson are replete with their usual scholarly rigor and insight. Of particular interest in Notre Dame Law Professor Charles Rice's exploration of the First Amendment's Establishment clause, in an essay called "The Constitution: Guarantor of Religion."

We are, of course, all too aware of the federal government's implacable hostility to Christianity and its aggressive efforts to move Christian symbols from public life. Rice indicates the original intent of the Establishment clause, which never imagined such an outcome. In support of this interpretation, Rice cites the early nineteenth-century Supreme Court Justice, Joseph Story, himself a mere Unitarian who wrote that

The real object of the amendment was, not to countenance, much less to advance Mohammedanism, or Judaism, or infidelity, by prostrating Christianity; but to exclude all rivalry among Christian sects, and to prevent any national ecclesiastical establishment which should give to a hierarchy the exclusive patronage of the national government.

Rice demonstrates the ease with which the modern interpretation of the Establishment clause can be shown to be opposed to original intent. (To paraphrase John Henry Newman, to be steeped in history is to cease to be a liberal.)

What, then, is the common link to the essays in this volume? That the meaning of the Constitution has been egregiously and hopelessly perverted by the federal government, particularly the Supreme Court.

The federal government, indeed, has successfully arrogated to itself the right to determine the scope of its own powers vis-a-vis those of the states. And as John C. Calhoun pointed out, if the central government is given the final say on the extent of its own jurisdiction, it will inevitably extend its reach at the expense of state sovereignty.

It may be time to ask some difficult questions about our Constitution. Time and again we have been told, for example, that civil rights, feminism, and other liberal crusades were wonderful ideas with noble beginnings, but have mysteriously degenerated into quotas and victimology. Most of us have figured out by now that these movements were pernicious from the beginning, and that their strange manifestations today are only the logical outcome of their original dynamic.

The same may well be true of the Constitution. We all possess a certain reverence for this, the oldest written constitution still in effect, but it may be time to accept the conclusion, albeit radical, that it was a mistake to abandon the Articles of Confederation. Charles A. Beard and Murray N. Rothbard, among others, have described the drafting and ratification of the Constitution as a *coup d'état*, frustrating the will of the people, and they may well have been right.

The Constitution, in fact, operated tolerably for only about 75 years, until the Radical Republicans seized the reins of the federal government during the Civil War and Reconstruction. The very fact that the federal government has so obviously misinterpreted the Constitution for countless generations only reinforces the truth that no piece of paper can restrain the Jacobins of both parties, and that the

only effective way to ensure the authority is not abused is not to delegate it in the first place. Federalism only possessed any force when the threat of secession loomed in the background, and the time is surely approaching when ordinary folks begin to see this option as the only alternative to political despotism and cultural disintegration.

—Thomas E. Woods, Jr.

All Over the Map:

Rethinking American Regions

Edward L. Ayers, Patricia N. Limerick, Stephen Nissenbaum, Peter S. Onuf
(Johns Hopkins, 1996, 104 pages, \$35.00)

With their joint effort, Professors Ayers, Limerick, Nissenbaum, and Onuf lay out some interesting views on the current state of American historical scholarship on the question of regions. Their approaches are very disparate, though, and the quality of the essays is very uneven.

Onuf, whose work has focused on the relations among the states in the Revolutionary period and that of the Early Republic, makes the case for a proposition that may strike readers of *Southern Partisan* as slightly heretical: that there would have been no sections without the federal system; that is, there could be no Northeast without a West or a Southeast. Relying on information he has brandished elsewhere, he points out that Jefferson and his circle thought at the beginning that the likely geographic tendency of Virginia's future was in tandem with Pennsylvania. Sectionalism, he says (again not wholly originally), was a product of the rhetorical imperatives of the ratification process: in order to spur support of the new charter of 1787, Federalists claimed that its rejection would result in regional confederacies. (Imagine, a Southern Confederacy with Patrick Henry as President!) Antifederalists' rhetorical response was to warn—

as Jefferson would claim in his First Inaugural—that Federalists intended to create an unresponsive metropolis imitative of London in America, and that Virginians (and Carolinians and New Yorkers and . . .) should focus on local and state governments' role in protecting society's inherited structure.

Ayers' essay on the South, like his Pulitzer Prize-nominated *The Promise of the New South*, argues that there is no irreducible essence of the South. While there are certain questions that historians have asked and will ask about the South, and while there are some issues that have drawn the attention of the South's peoples and her politicians for centuries, those issues may be resolved without eliminating the South from American life.

Limerick's essay is incoherent. She makes no argument, other than to explain her unhappiness in light of Ayers' argument elsewhere that regions of the United States cannot be defined and to make clear that she is on the politically correct side of every issue (even saying Texas became independent of Mexico by conquest); her discussion is at an intellectual level far lower than that of the others in the book.

All Over the Map as a whole is of interest to those who wish to encounter new ideas about region; the insight that regions are always changing, that their essences and boundaries are not fixed, is a useful one, as is the point that it was the federal system itself that made section possible.

—Kevin R. Gutzman

A Chesapeake family and their slaves: A study in historical archaeology

by Anne Elizabeth Yentsch
(Cambridge, 1994, 395 pages, \$25.00 paper)

Historical archaeology is a hybrid, as its name implies, of historiography and archaeology. Its

foremost advocate, Prof. James Deetz of the University of Virginia, frankly admits that its main appeal is among anthropologists who realize they will not be coming across any more unknown civilizations anytime soon. However, the techniques of the archaeologist and the theories of the anthropologist can be applied to evidence left by societies we would ordinarily describe as "historic" and which do not by any means fall into the class of the unknown. For example, Deetz has devoted much attention to colonial and early republican British North America.

Anne Elizabeth Yentsch of Savannah's Armstrong State College is self-consciously in the tradition of Deetz, whom she does not omit to praise in her *A Chesapeake family and their slaves*. [sic] As she tells it, the project whose ultimate product was this book was undertaken as a result of a construction project in downtown Annapolis, Maryland; when the contractor came upon ruins he had not expected to find, the state was called in. A house not known to have been so prominent in Maryland's history turned out to have been the main house in a complex once inhabited by generations of Calverts, including one who was the incumbent Lord Baltimore.

In Deetz's classic *In Small Things Forgotten*, he undertook speculation—outright daydreaming—that marked his book as not the work of a historian. Yentsch, on the other hand, is uncertain to whom she wants to direct her volume, so while she tries to make it appealing to historians and to the lay reader, she also includes a degree of detail about the fruits of the dig at the Calvert site on State Circle that this historian found tedious. After a while, a bottle is a bottle and a bead is a bead.

This is not to say the historian or the lay reader interested in Southern history will not find much food for thought in this book. For example, the Calverts' correspondence from the period in

which the governors of the colony lived in the house on the State Circle site shows them to have been what Southrons have always claimed they were, which are English aristocrats whose attentions were devoted to assimilating their little outpost of the English Empire to the larger entity, both in terms of social structure and in terms of culture. Also in evidence is the degree to which the English were unprepared by their traditional ways for life in the South; the image of overheated men lounging about in ornate, heavy English garb is particularly memorable.

—KRG

Tumult and Silence at Second Creek: An Inquiry Into A Civil War Slave Conspiracy

by Winthrop D. Jordan

(LSU, 1995, 379 pages, \$16.95)

Historians have long noted that 1864 and 1865 found the generality of Confederates becoming disillusioned with the incidence of Confederate conscription, particularly in light of the fact that exemptions were provided to large slaveholders. University of Mississippi Prof Winthrop D. Jordan's speculative *Tumult and Silence at Second Creek: An Inquiry Into A Civil War Slave Conspiracy* provides evidence that the concerns that prompted the C.S. Congress to include such a mechanism in its conscription law were well-founded.

Jordan came upon a peculiar document two decades ago, and this book is the result of the research based on that document. It seems that one Lemuel P. Conner kept a record of the interrogations of a group of slaves suspected of conspiracy to rebel and, after killing many of their masters and mistresses, to divvy up selected women among themselves. Jordan notes that this conspiracy is a revelation, and he spins out the details via consultation of widely-dispersed, obscure documents.

Left scholars have had a field

day in recent years with the idea that language is indeterminate, that all is context, that societies of the past, even our fathers'—are lost to us. This is in direct contravention of the basic Christian idea that, "In the beginning was the *Logos*" (a Greek word which is usually translated "Word," but which also means "Discourse," "Reason," and "Rationale;" St. John's statement means rationality, in the form of the Son of God, was the First Thing). Jordan plays on this idea in this book, using it as a license for bald speculation. However, he provides the reader all the evidence on which he has relied in a lengthy appendix, so he can draw his own conclusions.

This new paperback edition is revised to take account of documents discovered by other historians since the original appeared. Jordan received the historical profession's highest award, the Bancroft Prize, for the original version of this book in 1992. It is surely a stylistic triumph, and it powerfully makes the case for the unknowability of historic fact. On reflection, though, the reader will realize that what has really been proven is that some events, events which were thought trivial or unworthy of recollection, are lost in the haze of passing time. This little affects the task of the historian engaged in the classical practice of his craft, which is the depiction of those examples from the past he finds worthy of emulation or judges needful of castigation.

—KRG

Why the Civil War Came

Gabor S. Borritt, ed.

(Oxford, 1996, 253 pages, \$25.00 cloth)

Why the Civil War Came is the latest in the series of collections produced by Gettysburg College's Civil War [sic] Institute, past installments of which have included *Why the Confederacy Lost* and *Lincoln's Generals*, among others. It is fair to say that the typical es-

say in past volumes has been admiring of Lincoln and pleased with the war's outcome, and the tradition continues here.

Boritt's contribution to the tome is an essay exploring the possibility that Abraham Lincoln may have been in some way responsible for the war. (Gasp!) How? Inadvertently, of course; if you are not surprised that that should be the extent of Boritt's criticism, you may be taken aback to learn that he feels it necessary to apologize to those who may be offended at the idea. "I respect Lincoln deeply," he reassures us. Boritt's tendency is to give the benefit of every doubt to Lincoln, even contradicting David Donald's very friendly biography of Lincoln in saying his performance as president-elect showed him adhering only to principle, "blind to the consequences." In fact, he was well aware that to win the election, then immediately see the departure of the South from the Union would kill the Republican Party, and thus felt himself prevented from compromising with or bidding adieu to the seceding states. Principle, indeed.

William Gienapp of Harvard University contributes some ruminations on the way the political system drove events in the period immediately before the war. He has an odd view of John C. Calhoun (and is the rare author who recommends only the two twentieth-century biographies most hostile to Calhoun), but the strangest part of his essay is what he says about the systemic questions. The Southern states, he admits, had the better of the constitutional arguments, yet he provides description only of the Northern case; then, despite conceding that the South had the better of the question whether secession was constitutional (which readers of Davis, Stephens, or Bledsoe cannot deny), he repeatedly calls "the Civil War" (and if the South's secession was legal, how can it have been a "Civil" War?) "the greatest single

failure of American democracy." By this reasoning, one supposes that any court decision that a statute is unconstitutional is a "failure of American...democracy." If the regime were a democracy, not a republic, that might be true; as things stand, such events are simply part of the system.

The unhappiest idea in this book—and one that appears repeatedly—is part of the complex of ideas that forms a sort of protective phalanx around the memory of Abraham Lincoln: that once war had started, its shape was inevitable. Burning down cities and intentionally starving civilians, don't you see, follow from the fact of war itself. I suppose *Why The War Took The Form It Did* is a different book, though. It is one I do not expect to appear any year soon.

—KRG

Secession Debated:

Georgia's Showdown in 1860

Edited by William W. Freehling and Craig M. Simpson
(Oxford University Press, 165 pages, 1992, \$10.95 paper)

If South Carolina was the most assertive Southern state in the various sectional confrontations of the ante bellum period, and if she was notoriously at the forefront of the independence mania of 1860 - 1861, her neighbor to the south and west had a rather different trajectory. Georgia's political leaders were sharply divided on the question of secession. It is the merit of this volume that it brings together some very able arguments both for and against secession from Georgia's secession debate of 1860.

There are a few basic matters on which the participants in this debate disagree. Robert Toombs, a master of hyperbole, argues that Georgia's federation with the other of the United States has been nothing but a drawback to her, and Henry Benning marshals some highly dubious figures to similar effect; Alexander Stephens, on the

other hand, sounds every bit the former Whig he is when glorying in America's strength, wealth, and prestige. No wonder Robert Barnwell Rhett was aghast at Stephens' elevation to the Confederate Vice Presidency! There are some matters, though, that cause no division: that Georgia comes first, that Lincoln is the representative of an extremist party whose goal is the elimination of slavery everywhere, and that it would be better for Georgia to leave the Union than for it to succumb to an unremitting series of abuses.

Readers familiar with the leading books on the South after 1865 will find in this volume that Joseph Brown's horror story of emancipation's effects, social, economic, and political, has much in common with those accounts of what actually came to pass in the post-war South. Those aware of the Confederacy's diplomatic troubles will find much reliance here on Southerners' mistaken notion that Great Britain, France, and New England could not afford to do without Southern cotton. Readers familiar with the content of the prevalent Southern Protestant religious belief will notice allusions to it throughout the volume.

When John C. Calhoun called slavery "a positive good," he had in mind the race war he thought was its only alternative. Georgian leaders' acceptance of that notion peppers the arguments of both sides here. In the end, the anti-secessionists' idea of amending the famous Georgia Platform of 1850 by adding a warning that state, like federal, interference with slavery would provoke secession showed that they saw the necessity of tacking to the secessionist wind. Thus, the narrow margin of Georgia's vote for secession is misleading. Virtually no one thought the political winds blowing across the North augured a healthy season in Georgia. This slim collection of well-wrought arguments tells why.

—KRG

Time on the Cross:

The Economics of American Negro Slavery

by Robert William Fogel and Stanley I. Engerman

(Little-Brown, Boston 1974, 286 pages)

Time on the Cross is a delightfully controversial work dealing with the peculiar institution. The work is as enlightening on the subject of slavery as Otto Scott's *The Secret Six* is on the New England abolitionist movement. Unfortunately, like *The Secret Six*, *Time on the Cross* has been the subject of great scholarly neglect.

The prologue is written in a manner which borders on being, if it is not overtly, apologetic. The authors state, "Some of the discoveries were at one time as unbelievable to the cleometricians as they will be to the readers of this volume. Indeed, many of the findings presented in the chapters that follow were initially discounted, even rejected out of hand. But when persistent efforts to contradict the unexpected discoveries failed, these scholars were forced into a wide ranging and radical reinterpretation of American slavery." (p.8) Later, they add, "This will be a disturbing book to read," (p.8). They then go on to list ten principal corrections of the traditional characterization of slavery which are documented by this work.

The greatest contribution of this work is that it exonerates slave owners by stating that they did not have a practice of breaking up slave families. If anything, they encouraged strong slave families to further the slaves' peace and happiness in order to promote efficient work. The work documents that a very small percent of slaves were purchased for speculation. "Records of transactions from 1802-1862 indicate more than 84% of all sales over the age 14 involved unmarried individuals," (p. 49) "The small number of child sales could easily be explained by orphans. . ." (p.50). ". . . On aver-

age, only one slave holder in twenty-two sold a slave in any given year, and roughly one-third of these were estates of deceased persons." (p.53). The researchers document that the average slave diet exceeded modern recommendations, and that most slaves lived in single family dwellings where the density was lower than that of free workers in urban areas. They also cite evidence that the medical care received by slaves was similar to that received by their owners, and most often was delivered by the family physician.

Slaves, the authors point out were not all menial workers. "... Over 25% of males were managers, professionals, craftsmen, and semiskilled workers." (p.40). Slaves were not limited by ability to one job, but "engaged in the full range of agricultural activities." (p.41) On a majority of large plantations, "The top non-ownership management was black." (p. 212). They also emphasized that "it is not true that the typical slave family was

matriarchal in form' . . ." "For better or worse, the dominant role in slave society was played by men, not women. It was men who occupied virtually all of the managerial slots available to slaves." "In the city of Charleston in 1848, for example, all of 706 slave artisans were male." (p.141) Black elders served along side white elders in the Presbyterian Church in Darien, Georgia.

Time on the Cross also brings "antislavery critics" up for much needed criticism. It rightly labels the Northern "programs of gradual emancipation" as "schemes" which "usually involved the freeing, not of adults, but of children born on some date after the emancipation law was enacted. Moreover, the freeing of slave children was delayed until "after they were of sufficient age to have earned enough income to repay the cost of their rearing." (p. 35) There is no mention, however, of North to South slave traffic during this period. As with the slave trade, New

Englanders used the time of gradual emancipation to profit further at Southerners expense. The book attributes the worsening of "pecuniary income, diet, health, skill acquisition," and other material aspects of life of blacks after emancipation, at least partly, to the racist attitudes of the abolitionists. (p.262)

The book does an excellent job of putting forth findings that the authors state, "not only expose many myths that have served to corrode and poison relations between the races, but also help put into a new perspective some of the most urgent issues of our day." (pp. 8 & 9). If put to proper use, the findings in *Time on the Cross* could be the balm that promotes healing, reconciliation, and cooperation between the races once so intimately bound and codependent in the early development of the South.

—Peter Winn Martin

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The Cause Endures continued...

Amendment recommended in the book is essentially a restatement of the Tenth Amendment with the added provisions of nullification and secession. If ratified, the amendment would work something like this: A state could nullify by convention any federal measure that it considered unconstitutional. If the conventions of three-fourths of the remaining states agree the measure in question is indeed unconstitutional, then the measure would be null and void throughout the Union. If however, three-fourths of the state conventions declare the measure to be constitutional, then the measure would stand throughout the Union. If a three-fourths majority is unobtainable either for or against the constitutionality of the measure, then the measure would remain void in the original and additional nullifying states until three-fourths of the states could come to agreement. By the second section of the Sovereignty Amendment, the nullifying state can choose secession if it disagrees with the final decision of its sister states.

The amendment, in reality, adds nothing to the federal compact. It merely expresses what the likes of Madison and Jefferson took for granted. It is a sad commentary on the state of constitutional government in North America that thinkers like the Kennedys must propose an amendment to defend a valid constitutional mechanism (nullification and secession).

The authors do not suggest, however, that the powers of nullification and secession be used whimsically by the states. Following the logic of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, the authors see secession and nullification as the last resort when faced with perilous usurpations by the national government.

Why Not Freedom? is an excellent examination of the many excesses of the national government and offers a concrete and workable solution to our current problems. It is written for the average American and is an amazingly quick read. But as with any undertaking of similar magnitude, *Why Not Freedom?* is not without flaws.

For instance, while the authors are readily aware of the perniciousness of the national government, in the area of warfare they offer but a knee-jerk reaction to criticisms of U.S. military adventures abroad. The Kennedys attribute criticism of conflicts from the Mexican-American War to World War II to politically correct liberals. Though Calhoun is quoted throughout the book, the Kennedys ignore his warnings that modern warfare could only end in a great consolidated national government. Calhoun's opposition to President Polk's duplicity and warmongering against Mexico remains worthy of study today. Moreover, the Kennedys do not recognize scholarship that suggests FDR purposely led America into World War II and that he knew beforehand of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and did nothing to thwart it. The authors falsely consider criticisms of government's thirst for blood as criticisms of American soldiers.

Despite a few rough edges, *Why Not Freedom?* is a much needed examination of the proper role of the states in our scheme of government. The Kennedys are not radical innovators, but men who respect the courage and wisdom of their ancestors. Their book offers a good old fashioned remedy for the ills of modern America. ☆

William Watkins is an editor with The Freeman magazine.

Lincoln continued...

demands, as earlier statesmen would have done, owes much to political imperatives) is God's purpose. A true fanatic, Lincoln even goes so far as to say that he would be willing to see the war continue until it had destroyed all that Americans have created in 250 years if that were God's will. Can there be any greater blasphemy? Donald finds this moving rhetoric.

The book, then, is yet another of the books President Jefferson Davis predicted would be the fruit of the War of Northern Aggression, books telling the story from the Union side. What is essentially a fascistic political tendency, one that puts a fallacious history and blind devotion to Union above all else, has the full support of the academic historical profession. Today, failure to call Frederick Douglass "great"—and he is the only "great" man, other than Lincoln, in this volume—is simply unthinkable; disagreement with Lincoln's absurd misappropriations of passages from the Bible never occurs; and lamenting that he destroyed the government created by the sovereign states never enters the imagination. The victors have, indeed, written the history.

Once Lincoln's men were through with the Confederacy, they turned their tender ministrations on the Indians. The fate of the Indians is the subject of much breast-beating, but the C.S.A. remains the object of scorn among Ivy League historians. Donald offers no explicit judgment on either of these matters, leaving it to his narrative to tell his story. ☆

Kevin Gutzman, is a graduate student at the University of Virginia.

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

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"In the introduction to *A Treasury of Civil War Tales*, I wrote, 'This volume does not begin to exhaust the rich lode of Civil War material available.' The same is true of the present volume. Hopefully, though, *Civil War Trivia* will prove to be an enjoyable challenge to every student of this most unusual of wars, the ramifications of which continue to our own time."

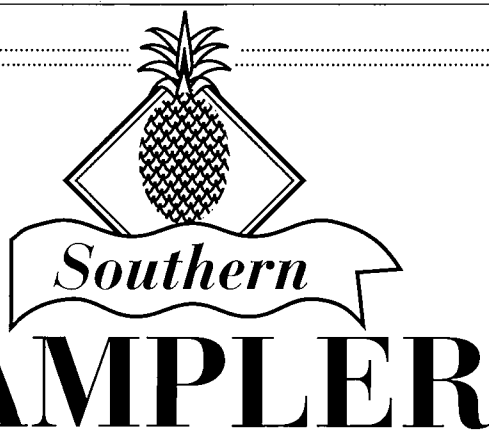
—Webb Garrison in the introduction to *Civil War Trivia*

1. Possibly suffering psychological disorders, what lieutenant general frequently reported himself ill during times of crisis, thus avoiding responsibility?
2. What friend and former comrade in arms of U.S. Grant was forced to accept his terms of unconditional surrender at Fort Donelson?
3. Who was Robert E. Lee's military secretary?
4. What fellow townsman who Stonewall Jackson appointed to his staff and assigned to command the Stonewall Brigade was killed at Chancellorsville in May 1863?
5. What Rhode Island native, the son of an artillery captain from Virginia, refused to surrender with Lee in Virginia?
6. Not having heard of Lee's surrender, who scored a victory in the war's last land battle on May 12-13, 1865, at Palmito Ranch, Texas?
7. Because Kentucky was not in the Confederacy and its forces were driven from it in 1862, what nickname was given to the famed First Kentucky Brigade?
8. What 300-pound spiritualist from Kentucky fought in West Virginia for six months, then resigned?
9. What major general caused Stonewall Jackson to submit his resignation, but the feud was mitigated for the good of the Confederacy?
10. What brigadier general, a Baptist minister, participated in a religious revival in 1864, baptizing more than 50 soldiers?

ANSWERS

1. Ambrose Powell Hill (b. Virginia)
2. Maj. Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner (b. Kentucky)
3. Col. Armistead Lindsay Long (b. Virginia)
4. Brig. Gen. Elisha Franklin Paxton (b. Virginia)
5. Maj. Gen. Lunsford Lindsay Lomax
6. Texas Ranger John S. ("Rest in Peace") Ford
7. The Orphan Brigade
8. Brig. Gen. Marshall Humphrey (b. Kentucky)
9. William Wing Loring (b. North Carolina)
10. Mark Perrin Lowrey (b. Tennessee)

Webb Garrison is a veteran writer who lives in Lake Junaluska, North Carolina. Formerly associate dean of Emory University and president of McKendree College, he has written forty books, including *A Treasury of White House Tales*, *A Treasury of Civil War Tales*, and *A Treasury of Christmas Stories*. *Civil War Trivia* and *Fact Book*, copyright 1992 by Webb Garrison and reprinted by permission of Rutledge Hill Press, Nashville, Tennessee.



—Compiled by William F. Freehoff

ON APPOMATOX

"It was in itself perhaps the greatest tragedy that ever occurred in the history of the world..."

—Col. Charles Marshall, ADC to Gen. Robert E. Lee

ON BEARING THE BURDEN

"...he (Lee) was bearing the grief of his whole people."

—John B. Colyer, student at Washington College

ON THE "LOST CAUSE"

"The South is not ashamed of the lost cause, which can never be lost as long as men preach patriotism, glorify valor, and worship sacrifice."

—The Rev. James S. Vance

ON EQUALITY

"...a miserable 'ignis fatuus,' not worthy to be followed even for the purpose of exposure."

—Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, Presiding Bishop of the Confederate Episcopal Church

ON HONOR

"The Honor System is at our Heart's Core. If we lose it, we lose everything."

—Major Gen. Josiah Bunting III, Superintendent, Virginia Military Institute

ON TROUBLE

"Trouble don't never come single."

Mountain Proverb

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UNDER THE BLACK FLAG: A GUERRILLA CAPTAIN UNDER QUANTRELL AND A BORDER OUTLAW FOR 17 YEARS

By Captain Kit Dalton

Larry Tolbert Publisher, Box 241654, Memphis, TN 38124, 234 pages, \$24.95.

Back after 81 years is the colorful memoir of Kit Dalton, guerilla warrior under Quantrell and pal to Cole Younger and Jesse James. Dalton's early 20th century memoir deserves reprinting. It provides a first-person account of the darkest side of the War for Southern Independence: the border war waged in Missouri, Kansas and the fringes of the frontier. There the war was fought like a typical civil war—harsh, brutal and very personal. States, counties, communities and families were divided and did their worst to overwhelm their enemies. At times, both sides—Northerners & Southerners—were victims and oppressors. Dalton did not profess to be a historian, but he was a gifted storyteller. Much of his story, however,

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deals with brutality. The importance of his memoir is that it reminds us what warfare can become without rules—and that except for the restraint of Southern leaders like Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, Dalton's experiences might have been the rule and not the exception between 1861 and 1865.

CONFEDERATE COMMISSARY GENERAL: LUCIUS B. NORTHRUP

By Jerrold N. Moore

White Mane Publishing, 340 pages, \$24.95.

Lucius B. Northrup was believed by some to be the "most cussed and villified man in the Confederacy." With the exception of Jefferson Davis, he also may have had the most difficult job. Northrup had to figure out how to feed and supply all the troops in the embattled Confederacy. That was a herculean challenge in the North—a land o' plenty, but in the South it was nigh impossible. It's remarkable Northrup did so well

and accomplished so much. Reading his biography is an insider's look at the logistics, feuds, foul-ups and unseen victories inside the government of the C.S.A.

TEXAS AND TEXANS IN THE CIVIL WAR

By Ralph A. Wooster

Eakin Press, Drawer 90159, 308 pages, \$27.95

From Twiggs' surrender to the Battle of Palmito Ranch, Texas was in the war, and Texans were among the last to lay down their arms. The story of Lone Star Confederates is amply told in this new work by the past president of the Texas State Historical Association. It is complemented by an extensive bibliography and footnotes. Like Texas, the story of Texas in the war is huge. Had the South won, Texas surely would have remained the largest state in the Confederacy. But would the Houston Space Center have been named the Gabriel Rains Space Center? ☆

Suicide of the Republicans

Civilizations, wrote historian Arnold J. Toynbee, more often die by committing suicide than by being murdered. Political parties are a far cry from civilizations, but they are not exempt from Toynbee's rule.

The suicidal voyage of the GOP has to do with the immigration reform bill. The main issue has been whether to keep the bill's original language that reduced legal, and also cracked down on illegal, immigration. Opponents wanted to split the bill so that illegal immigration would be dealt with separately from the legal kind. The opponents included Big Business and its faithful WASP companion, the Republicans.

The opponents wanted to split the bill because they knew that while there is wide support for controlling illegal immigration, the proposals for reducing legal immigration are more controversial and would probably be defeated if they stood alone in a separate bill.

Big Business (and therefore most Republicans) didn't like the proposals on legal immigration because they reduced by about 50,000 the number of immigrant workers annually allowed to enter the United States and imposed fees on employers who hire immigrant employees. The bill also forbade employers from laying off U.S. workers and replacing them with immigrants and required employers to show they tried to hire Americans before they hired foreign workers.

In a desperate effort to keep the bill intact, the bill's major champion in the Senate, Alan Simpson of Wyoming, caved in to Big Business pressures. He stripped the provisions mentioned above out of

the bill to try to placate their enemies in the committee. But Mr. Simpson did not cave quietly.

"The business community so distorted everything we were up to," he told the committee. "They ...chose to link up with those who have never wanted to do anything about immigration, ever. It may have worked, but I think they were a little too cute by half."

Michigan Republican Spencer Abraham, who is Big Business' chief spear-carrier on the immigration bill, succeeded in splitting the bill in two, thus assuring that the one reducing legal immigration will fail.

Meanwhile, the Democrats were supporting the original bill, with its provisions protecting American workers against competition from immigrant labor. Labor Secretary Robert Reich told *The Washington Post*, "We're deeply disturbed that these provisions, which are vitally important to protect American workers, have been thrown overboard," and he said he would urge President Clinton to veto the bill if it came to his desk without protection for Americans. Sen. Ted Kennedy also roused himself from merrier pursuits by vowing never to go along with "turning our backs on American workers." Well, a tip of the hat to the Democrats.

The meaning of the immigration bill dogfight in the Senate is that the Republicans, under the control of Big Business, have forfeited the immigration issue and allowed the Democrats to walk off with it. This brings us back to the subject of political (not to mention civilizational) suicide.

A new Roper poll, released ear-

lier this year, shows that "large and substantial margins agree that overall immigration should be lower, with 83 percent favoring a lower level of immigration than the current one of more than a million immigrants a year and 70 percent favoring less than 300,000." A total of 54 percent say annual immigration should be less than 100,000. Twenty percent support no immigration at all—zero.

So, at a time when a vast majority of the American people are demanding major reductions in immigration, and at a time when the Republican Party is fighting for a return to the White House this year, the Stupid Party has nailed to its mast the black flag of more immigrants and no reform, has worked against protecting American workers from immigrants competing for their jobs and has let its liberal Democratic adversaries sail into the sunset under the banner of controlling immigration and protecting American jobs.

Even Toynbee would have been stunned at the suicidal compulsion that seems to drive Republicans. Nevertheless, the events in the Judiciary Committee suggest a question for Sen. Bob Dole: Do you support protecting American workers from competition with cheap foreign workers by controlling legal immigration, or are you too simply a mouthpiece for Big Business who insists on keeping the Republican Party and the country locked on the course of suicide? ☆

Samuel Francis is a nationally syndicated columnist.

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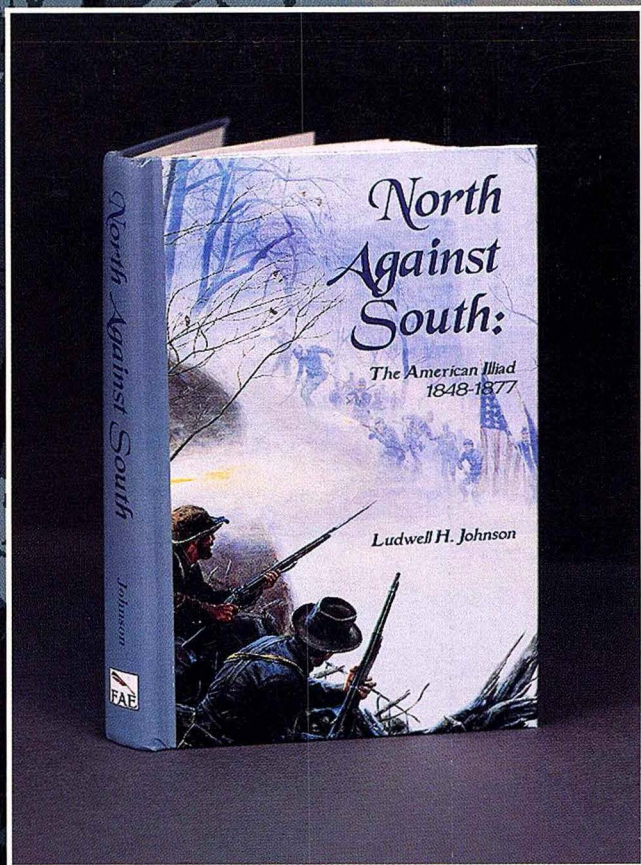
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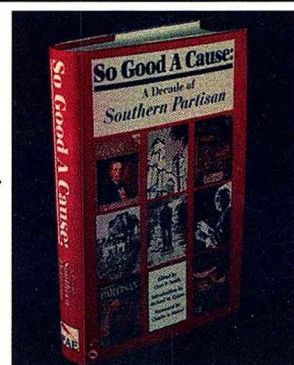
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